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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

II

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

J. W. COHOON, Ph.D.
MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY, SACKVILLE, N.B., CANADA

IN FIVE VOLUMES

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CONTENTS

PAGE

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE: ON MAN'S FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD 1

THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: ABOUT HIS BANISHMENT 89

THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM I 123

THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II 143

THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT 175

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON COVETOUSNESS 187

THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING 209

THE NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON THE AUTHOR'S FONDNESS FOR LISTENING 235

THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON RETIREMENT . 245

THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY . 271

THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR 291

THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: THE WISE MAN IS HAPPY 301

CONTENTS

PAGE

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON HAPPINESS 317

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON THE GUIDING SPIRIT 323

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON DELIBERATION 337

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: ON SYMPOSIA 347

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS II 357

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS I 373

THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS . . 395

INDEX 437

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE TWELFTH OR OLYMPIC DISCOURSE: OR, ON MAN'S FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD

THE Olympic Discourse was delivered by Dio at Olympia in the year A.D. 97 before a large audience of Greeks which had come to the city to witness the games, and in sight of the famous statue of Zeus which had been made by Pheidias, the greatest of Greek sculptors, more than five centuries before.

After his introductory remarks, in which he tells us that he has just returned from the Danube, where the Roman army under Trajan was about to begin the Second Dacian War, he raises the question as to whether he shall tell his hearers about the land of the Dacians and the impending war, or take a subject suggested by the god in whose presence they stood. He chooses the latter and, after explaining that a conception of the nature of the gods, and especially of the highest one, is innate in all mankind, and that this innate conception and belief is strengthened by men's experiences and observations in the world about them, Dio gives a classification of the way in which a conception of and a belief in their existence are implanted in the minds of men. In section 30 he makes a classification into notions innate and notions acquired. Then in section 44 and following he subdivides the acquired notions into (1) the voluntary and hortatory, given by the poets, (2) the compulsory and prescriptive, given by the lawgivers, (3) those given by the painters and sculptors, and (4) the notions and concepts as set forth and expounded by the philosophers. He is careful, however, to point out that the poets, lawgivers, and sculptors and others would have

[illegible] is not to that primary and innate notion.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

12. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΣ

1 Ἀλλ' ἦ τὸ λεγόμενον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις πλείοσι πέπονθα τὸ τῆς γλαυκὸς ἄτοπον καὶ παράδοξον παθος, ἐκείνην γὰρ οὐδὲν σοφωτέραν αὐτῶν οὖσαν οὐδὲ βελτίω τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτην ὁποίαν ἴσμεν, ὅταν δήποτε φθεγξῆται λυπηρὸν καὶ αὐδιμῶν ἡδύ, περιέπουσι τὰ ἄλλα ὄρνεα, καὶ ὅταν γε ἴδῃ μόνον, τὰ μὲν καθιζόμενα ἐγγύς, τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ περιπετόμενα, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καταφρονοῦντα τῆς φαυλότητος καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποί φασιν ὅτι θαυμάζει τὴν γλαῦκα τὰ ὄρνεα.

2 Πῶς δὲ οὐ τὸν ταῶ μᾶλλον ὁρῶντα θαυμάζει, καλὸν οὕτω καὶ ποικίλον, ἔτι δ' αὖ τοι[1] ἐπαι-

[1] δ' αὖ τοι Cappa: δὲ αὐτόν.

[1] This opening reminds one of Socrates' words at the opening of Plato's *Gorgias* (447 a) ἀλλ' ἦ τε λεγόμενον, κινδυνεύει ἑορτὴν ἡμῖν καὶ πανήγυριν—"Well, have I come when the feast is over, to use a familiar saying, and am I late?" καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις πλείοσι was evidently a proverbial expression. Τί occurs in almost the same form, καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, at the beginning of Dio's Second Tarsian Discourse.

Dio's words are prompted by the sight of the vast throng

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE OLYMPIC DISCOURSE OR, ON MAN'S FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD

Can it be, Sirs, that here before you, just as before many another audience—to use a familiar saying[1]—I have met with the strange and inexplicable experience of the owl? For though she is no whit wiser than the other birds nor more beautiful in appearance, but on the contrary only what we know her to be, yet whenever she utters her mournful and far from pleasing note, they all flock to her! Yes, and even when they merely see her, some alighting near and others circling about her, the reason being, as it seems to me, that they look with scorn upon her insignificance and weakness; and yet people in general say that the birds admire the owl.

Surely, however, the birds ought rather to admire the peacock when they see him, beautiful and many coloured as he is, and then again truly when he lifts

assembled to hear him in the Altis or sacred grove, at Olympia, before the temple of Zeus with its world-renowned statue of that god, made of ivory and gold. He also refers to the greatness of his audience in § 14.

[1] Plutarch, Moralia, 1 b 4 quotes Timaeus as saying of Philippus, [illegible] "When Gryllus, the owl, himself, many flocked to him, as birds to an owl, with offers of military service."

μίμησιν καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντα τὸ κάλλος τῶν πτερῶν, ὅταν ἀβρυνόμενος πρὸς τὴν θήλειαν, ἀνακλάσας τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ περιστήσας αὐτῇ ἐπιτηδείαν ὥσπερ σκηνὴν θεατρον ἢ τινα γραφὴν μιμούμενα οὐρανὸν ποικίλον ἀστροις, σὺν γε τοῖς λευκοῖς χρώμασι[1] θαυμαστόν, ἐγγύτατα χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀκηρατοῦ, καὶ ὅη ἐν ἄκροις τοῖς πτεροῖς οἷον ἐφιλίμιον εἶναι τῶν ἢ τινων δακτυλίων τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν
2 ἄλλην ὁμοιότητα, εἰ δ' οὖν ἔτι τι ἐπιλείοι[2], σκοπεῖ τῆς περιστάσεως τὸ κοῦφον, ἵν' μὴ χαλεπὸν εἶναι μηδὲ δυσφόρον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος· ἐν μέσῳ μαλα ἤσυχον καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα παρέχει θεατὴν ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ περιστραφείσης· ὅταν δὲ βουληθῇ ἀναλῆξαι, σείων τὰ πτερὰ καὶ τινα ἦχον οὐκ ἀδῆ ποιῶν, οἷον ἀέρα κινήσαντος ἀφ' σαλλοῦ σκοπῆν τινα ἵλην

Ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸν ταῦς πάντα ταῦτα καλλωπιζόμενον τὰ ὄρνεα βούλεται ὁρῶν οὔτε τῆς ἀηδόνος ἀκούουσα τῆς φωνῆς ἔωθεν ἐπιμελουμένης· οὐ
4 δὲν παρέχει πρὸς αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οἶδα τὸν κύκνον ἀσπαζόμενα διὰ τὴν μουσικήν· οὐδὲ ὅταν ὑμνῇ τὴν ὑστάτην ᾠδὴν ἅτε εὐγήρως, ὑπὸ τρυφῆς τε καὶ λήθης τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χαλεπῶν εὐφήμων ἅμα καὶ προπεμπόντων ἀλύπως αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικε, πρὸς ἄλλον τὸν θάνατον· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τότε αἰρόμενα κτήσιμα τοῖς μέλεσι πρὸς ὄχθην ποταμοῦ

[1] χρώμασι Ἀττικοῖς : σώμασι.
[2] ἔτι τι ἐπίλοιπον ἀρτι, cf Plato, *Kleob* I 123 e ὅτι τι ἐπίλοιπον (or ἐπίλοιπος) ἀκούειν.

---

[1] Horace Satires 2. 2. 20 says of the peacock, *spreads out a spectacle with its pied tail* [illegible] *proclaiming stands*. By Achilleus Tatius p. 22, the peacock

himself up in pride and shows the beauty of his plumage, as he struts before his hen with his tail spread out and arched as about him like a fan-shaped theatre[1] or some picture of the heavens studded with stars: a figure worthy of admiration for the enquiring eye, which is nearest to gold, edged with dark blue; and then too on the tips of his feathers there are eyes, as it were, or markings like rings both in shape and in their general appearance. And if you want something further, observe the lightness of his plumage, so light indeed that it is not an encumbrance nor hard to carry on account of its length. In the centre of it he offers himself to the spectator's gaze, quite calm and unconcerned, turning himself this way and that as if on parade; and when he wishes to move to a second, he ruffles his feathers and makes a sound resembling, as of a light breeze stirring some thing wood.

But it is not the peacock with all this fine display that the birds want to see, nor when they hear the song of the nightingale as she rises at early dawn are they at all affected by her; nay, not even the swan[2] do they greet on account of its music, not even when in the fullness of years it sings its last song and through joy, and because it has forgotten the troubles of life, utters its triumphant notes and at the same time without sorrow conducts itself, as it seems, to a sorrowless death—even then I say the birds are not so charmed by its strains that they

[1] to display the theatre of its feathers: [illegible] the theatre-like [illegible] of its feathers.

[2] [illegible] represented by the owl, as [illegible] by the peacock, and the poets by the nightingale and the swan.

τινος ἢ λειμῶνα πλατὺν ἢ καθαρὰν ἠόνα λίμνης ἢ τινα σμικρὰν εὐθαλῆ ποταμίαν νησῖδα.

5 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοσαῦτα μὲν θεάματα ἔχοντες τερπνά, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσματα, τοῦτο μὲν ῥήτορας δεινούς, τοῦτο δὲ ζωγράφους ἡδίστους ἐμμέτρων καὶ ἀμέτρων λόγων, τοῦτο δέ, ὡς[1] ταῦς ποικίλους, πολλοὺς[2] σοφιστάς, δόξῃ καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐπαιρομένους οἷον πτηνοῖς, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ πρόσιτε καὶ βουλεσθε ἀκουειν, τοῦ μηδὲν εἰδοτος μηδὲ φάσκοντος εἰδέναι, ἆρ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπεικάζω τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τῷ περὶ τὴν γλαῦκα γεγενημένῳ σχεδον οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμονίας τινος βουλήσεως;

6 ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ λέγεται προσφιλὲς εἶναι τὸ ὄρνεον, τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν θεῶν καὶ σοφωτάτῃ, καὶ τῆς γε[3] Φειδίου τέχνης παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος αὐτὴν συγκαθιδρῦσαι τῇ θεῷ, συνδοκοῦν τῷ δήμῳ. Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ

[1] ὡς added by Cappa.
[2] τοῦτο δὲ ὡς before πολλοὺς deleted by Cappa.
[3] γε Reiske : τε.

---

[1] The words 'on some river's bank in a river' are somewhat reminiscent of Homer (*Iliad* 2. 459–462)

As many tribes of winged fowl, wild geese or cranes or long necked swans, upon the Asian mead about Cayster's streams fly hither and thither rejoicing in their wings and clamouring as they alight, while the mead resounds."

ὣς τ' ἀπίθων κατὰ πίονα πολλά,
χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων,
Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καϋστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα,
ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτώμενα ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσιν,
κλαγγῇσιν προσαθροίζοντο, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμών.

gather on some river's bank or on a broad mead or the clean strand of a mere, or on some lily green inlet in a river.[1]

And some you know [illegible] though having so many [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

αὐτὸν[1] λαθὼν ἐποίησεν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

Οὐ μέντοι ταῦτά γε εὐτυχήματα νομίζειν ἔοικέν μοι τῆς γλαυκός, εἰ μή τινα φράσειεν ὥρα τοιαύτην πλεῖν. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν μῦθον Αἰσωπικὸν ξυνέστησεν ὅτι σοφὴ οὖσα ξυνεβούλευε τοῖς ὄρνισι τῆς δρυὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ φυομένης μὴ λέπειν, ἀλλ' ἀνελεῖν αὐτὰ τρόπον ἐπεὶ θεὸς γὰρ φαρμακὸν ἐν αὐτῇ πέφυκεν, ὑφ' οὗ ἁλώσεται, τὸν ἱξόν. πάλιν δὲ τὸ λίνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπειρόντων, ἐκέλευε καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλέγειν τὸ σπέρμα μὴ γὰρ ἐν ἀγαθῷ φυήσεσθαι. τρίτον δὲ ἰδοῦσα τοξεύτην τινὰ ἄνδρα προσέλεγεν ὅτι. Οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ φθάσει ὑμᾶς τοῖς ὑμετέροις, πτεροῖς, πεζὸς ὢν αὐτὸς πτηνὰ ἐπιπέμπων βέλη.

Ἃ δὲ φράσειεν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἀνάθοιτο αὐτὴν

[1] *αὐτὸν* Jacobs: *αὐτὸν*.

---

[1] This refers to the statue of Athenê Parthenos, the most famous of the statues of Athenê made by Pheidias. This statue, nearly 40 feet high, stood in the cella of the Parthenon and represented the goddess as just having stepped out of her chariot to accept the worship of her people. The face, hands, and feet, where flesh was exposed, were represented by ivory, the drapery and ornaments by pure gold.

According to Plutarch (*Pericles* 31 4 5) Pheidias, in the battle of the Amazons represented on the outer rim of the shield of the goddess, carved a figure that represented himself as a bald old man lifting a stone with both hands and also inserted a good likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon.

[2] Bird lime was made from the juice of the mistletoe, which grows on the oak. Athenaeus (45 d) says it was also made from oak-gum.

he depicted cleverly, as we are told, on the shield of the goddess.[3]

However, it does not occur to me to regard all this as good fortune on the part of the owl, since she really does in fact possess some superior sagacity. And this, I imagine, is the reason why Aesop composed the fable in which he represents her as being wise and as advising the birds when the first oak-tree began to grow, not to let it happen, but by all means to destroy the plant, for she said the tree would produce a drug from which none might escape the first time,[4] and they would be caught by it. Again, when men were sowing flax, she made them pick up this seed also, since it grew, no good would come from it. And in the third place, when she saw a man armed with a bow, she prophesied saying: "Yonder man will outstrip you with the help of your own feathers, for though he wrought himself he will send feathered shafts after you."[4]

But the other birds mistrusted her words of warning

[3] Because owls for watching birds would be made from it.

[4] The same story is expressed by Aesop (no. 139).

> "So in the fable [illegible] told
> [illegible] an eagle struck with a dart,
> So [illegible] when he saw [illegible] the shaft,
> "With [illegible] feathers, not [illegible] is
> Are we now smitten." (Perry's Translation.)

> All [illegible] author [illegible] Athenian [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> discussed.

For the same idea in English poetry see Waller, *To a Lady weeping a bird of her own*, [illegible] *English Birds and British Beasts*, Thomas Moore, corrupted.

ἡγοῦντο καὶ μαίνεσθαι ἔφασκον· ὕστερον δὲ πειρωμένα ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τὸ ὅντι σοφωτάτην ἐνόμιζεν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἐπὰν φαίνῃ, προσεῖσιν ὡς πρὸς ἅπαντα ἐπιστάμενην· ἡ δὲ συμβουλεύει μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδέν ἔτι, ὀδύρεται δὲ μόνον.

9 Ἴσως οὖν παρειλήφατε ὑμεῖς λόγον τινὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ ξυμβουλὴν συμφέρουσαν, ἥτις ἐν τοῖς πρότερον Ἕλλησιν, ἣν οἱ τότε μὲν ἠγνόησαν καὶ ἠτίμασαν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκονται καὶ μοι προσεῖσι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα, Φιλοσοφίαν τιμῶντες ὥσπερ τὴν γλαῦκα ἄφωνον τό γε ἀληθὲς καὶ ἀπαρρησίαστον οὖσαν· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ξυνοίδα οὔτε πρότερον εἰπόντι σπουδῆς ἄξιον οὔτε νῦν ἐπιστάμενῳ

10 πλέον ὑμῶν· ἀλλὰ εἰσὶν ἕτεροι σοφοὶ καὶ μακάριοι παντελῶς ἄνδρες, οὓς ὑμῶν ἐγώ, εἰ βούλεσθε, μηνύσω, ἕκαστον ὀνομαστὶ δεικνύμενος· καὶ γὰρ νὴ Δία τοῦτο μόνον οἶμαι χρήσιμον ἔχειν, τὸ γιγνώσκειν τοὺς σοφούς τε καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ πάντα ἐπισταμένους· οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλητε ξυνεῖναι τἄλλα ἐάσαντες, καὶ γονεῖς καὶ πατρίδας καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ καὶ προγόνων τάφους, ἐκείνοις ξυνακολουθοῦντες ἔνθα ἂν ἄγωσιν[1] ἢ καὶ μενοντές ποι καθιδρυθῶσιν, εἴτε εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὴν Νινου καὶ Σεμιραμιδος εἴτε ἐν Βάκτροις ἢ Σουσοις

[1] ἄγωσιν Emperius: ἄνωσιν or ἀνῶσιν

---

[1] His philosopher's garb, long hair and beard, etc.

[2] A reference to certain sophists.

[3] Nineveh, and not Babylon, was founded by Ninus and Semiramis, but perhaps the text is corrupt here.

They considered her foolish, and said she was mad, but afterwards through experience they came to admire her and to consider her in very truth exceedingly wise. And that is the reason why, whenever she shows herself, they draw near to her as to one possessing all knowledge; but as for her, she no longer gives them advice, but merely laments.

So perhaps there has been delivered unto you some true word and ancient revelation which Phoenix gave to the Greeks of old; but the men of that time were preluded not and despised it, whereas those of the present day receiving it, draw near to me on account of my appearance, as to honouring Phoenix by the hands honour the one, although it is in reality vacuous and reticent of speech. For I am quite well aware that I have no future to lead us to things worthy of consideration, and that now I have no acknowledge superior to your own. But there are other men who are wise and accomplished, and if you wish I shall make them hear to you, mentioning each one by name.[1] For indeed this is one I consider to be great also to know the men who are wise and able and [illegible]. To such if you are willing to give heed, neglecting other things both parents and the land of your birth, the [illegible] of the gods and the tombs of your forefathers—following wherever they lead or remaining, wherever they establish themselves, whether in the Babylon[1] of Ninus and Semiramis, or in Bactra,[2] or Susa,[3]

[1] The chief city of Bactria, which corresponds to the modern Turkestan.

[2] The capital of Ancient Persia, marked now by the wonderful tombs of Darius. See note vol. I. p. 261.

[illegible] Μαλιεῖς[1] [illegible]

11 [illegible] [illegible][2] [illegible]

[illegible]

12 [illegible]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible] added by Emperor [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

or Paulchen,[1] or in some other famous and wealthy city giving them money or in some other way [illegible] favour you will become happier than happiness itself. But if you are not willing to do this [illegible] your own nature [illegible], or pleading poverty or age [illegible] of physical strength, you will at least not begrudge your sons the boon nor deprive them of the greatest blessings but will entrust them to these teachers if they are willing to receive them and if they are unwilling you will persuade them or compel them by any and all means, to the end that your sons, having been properly educated and having grown wise, may thereafter be renowned among all Greeks and barbarians, being [illegible] in virtue and reputation and wealth and in every kind of power. [illegible] do virtue and [illegible] upon wealth as we are [illegible] but wealth likewise and of necessity accompanies virtue.[2]

This is the prophecy and counsel that I give you as the [illegible] of a [illegible] god,[1] moved by a spirit of [illegible] and [illegible] toward you. And I suppose that it would be [illegible] to urge and exhort myself first of all, [illegible] the state of my health and my advanced age permitted, but the fact is that an [illegible] which affect me. I am under the necessity, if perchance I shall hold it in any way

[1] This reference is to the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The statue, which [illegible] the god was [illegible] represented Zeus seated in the form of a [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible]. It was [illegible] at [illegible] feet [illegible] at other times it was [illegible] by a [illegible].

[2] A reference to [illegible] ill health caused by the hardships of exile. He refers to it also in [illegible] and 19.

πού τι δυνησόμεθα, εὑρίσθαι παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ὥσπερ ἀπερρυμμένον ἤδη καὶ ἕωλον[1] σοφίας λείψανον χρῆναι[2] τῶν κρειττόνων τε καὶ ζώντων διδασκάλων.

Ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἄλλο ὃ πέπονθα τῇ γλαυκὶ παραπλήσιον, ἐὰν καὶ βούλησθε καταγελᾶν τῶν
13 λόγων. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνη αὐτὴ μὲν οὐδὲν χρῆται τοῖς προσπετομένοις, ἀνδρὶ δὲ ὀρνεοθήρᾳ πάντων λυσιτελέστατον κτημάτων· οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ οὔτε τροφὴν παραβάλλειν[3] οὔτε φωνὴν μιμεῖσθαι, μόνον δ' ἐπιδεικνύντα τὴν γλαῦκα πολὺ πλῆθος ἔχειν ὀρνέων· οὕτω κἀμοὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν ὄφελος· οὐ γὰρ λαμβάνω μαθητάς, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν[4] ἔχοιμι διδάσκειν, ἅτε οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπιστάμενος· ὡς δὲ[5] φεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν ὑπισχνούμενος, οὐκ ἔχω ταύτην τὴν ἀνδρείαν· σοφιστῇ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ξυνὼν μεγάλα ἂν ὠφέλοιν ὄχλον πολὺν ἀθροίζων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρέχων ὅπως βούλεται διαθέσθαι τὴν ἄγραν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, οὐδείς με ἀναλαμβάνει τῶν σοφιστῶν οὐδὲ ἥδονται ὁρῶντες.

14 Σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι πιστεύετέ μοι λέγοντι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπειρίας τε κἀνεπιστημοσύνης τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, δῆλον ὡς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ

[1] ἕωλον Reiske βῶλον. [2] χρῆναι Reiske δέ τι.
[3] παραβάλλειν Morel προβάλλειν.
[4] οὐδὲν ἂν Jacobs οὐδένα. [5] ὡς δὲ Pflugk ὅστε.

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[1] See Themistius (20 a) "He does not permit the ancient views to wither"—μαραίνεσθαι ουκ εξ τὰς ἀρχαίας δόξας, and

possible of discovering some bit of wisdom which has already been from the ancients cast aside as it were, and had grown stale[1] for lack of teachers who are both better and stimulating.

And I shall tell you of another respect too in which I am like the owl, even if you are ready to laugh at my words. For just as that bird makes no use herself of the others that fly to her side, but to the fowler is the most useful of all possessions—since he has no need to throw out feed or imitate a call, but merely to show the owl, and then have a great multitude of birds, so I too have nothing to gain by the interest of the many. For I do not take disciples, since I know there is nothing I should be able to teach them, seeing that I know nothing myself;[2] but to be and deceive by my promises, I have not the courage[3] for that. But if I associated myself with a professional sophist, I should help him greatly by gathering a great crowd to him and then allowing him to dispose of the catch as he wished. However, for some reason or other, not one of the sophists is willing to take me on, nor can they bear the sight of me.

Now I am almost sure that you believe me when I speak of my own inexperience and lack of knowledge—evidently on account of your knowledge and sagacity; and it seems to me that you not only believe me on this point, but would have believed

[1] In the same author (306 b). [2] For the example from Homer I pass over as [illegible] — a type of [illegible] [illegible]

[3] So [illegible] this claim. See Plato, *Apology* 20 c, 23 b), cf. § 14 *infra*.

[4] In Discourse 11. 23 also Dio speaks of boldness being required for lying.

καὶ Σωκράτει δοκεῖτέ μοι πιστεύειν ἄν, ταὐτὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προβαλλομένῳ πρὸς ἅπαντας οὐκ οὐδὲν ἥδει· τὸν δὲ Ἱππίαν καὶ τὸν Πῶλον καὶ τὸν Γοργίαν, ὧν ἕκαστος αὐτὸν μάλιστα ἐθαυμαζε καὶ ἐξεπλήττετο, σοφοὺς ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ μακαρίους

15 ὅμως δὲ προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐσπουδάκατε ἀνδρὸς ἀκοῦσαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ὄντες οὔτε καλοῦ τὸ εἶδος οὔτε ἰσχυροῦ, τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ παρηκμακότος ἤδη, μαθητὴν δὲ οὐδένα ἔχοντος, τέχνην δὲ ἢ ἐπιστήμην οὐδεμίαν ὑποσχομένου σχεδὸν οὔτε τῶν σεμνῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐλαττόνων, οὔτε μαντικὴν οὔτε σοφιστικὴν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ῥητορικήν τινα ἢ κολακευτικὴν δύναμιν, οὐδὲ δεινοῦ ξυγγράφειν, οὐδὲ ἔργον τι ἔχοντος ἔξω ἐπαινοῦ καὶ σπουδῆς, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον κομῶντος·

Εἰ δ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ τόδε λωίτερον καὶ ἄμεινον,

16 δραστέον τοῦτο καὶ πειρατέον ὅπως ἂν ᾖ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν. οὐ μέντοι λόγων ἀκούσεσθε ὁποίων ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν νῦν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ φαυλοτέρων καὶ ἀκοπωτέρων,[1] ὁποίους δὴ καὶ ὁρᾶτε· χρὴ δὲ ἐὰν ὑμᾶς ἔμβραχυ,[2] ὅ τι ἂν ἐτύχῃ μοι, τούτῳ ἕπεσθαι, καὶ

[1] ἀκοπωτέρων Cobet: ἀτοπωτέρων.
[2] ἔμβραχυ Graf: ἐν βραχύ.

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[1] Sophist contemporary with Socrates. Had a powerful memory, great versatility, and considerable vanity.

[2] Sophist, pupil of Gorgias.

[3] From Leontini, a city east of Sicily. Born about 480 B.C. and lived more than 100 years. Celebrated rhetorician and sophist.

[4] Dio divides the arts and professions into two broad divisions, the nobler and the meaner. To the nobler division

Socrates also, when he continually and to all men advanced on his own behalf the same defence that he knew nothing, but that Hippias[1] and Prodicus[2] and Gorgias[3] each of whom was more struck with admiration of himself than of anyone else, you would have considered wise and blessed. But notwithstanding I declare to you that great as is your number you have been eager to hear a man who is neither handsome in appearance nor strong, and in age is already past his prime, one who has no disciple, who professes, I may almost say, no art or special knowledge either of the nobler or of the meaner sort, no ability either as a prophet or a sophist, nay not even as an orator or as a flatterer, one who is not even a clever writer, who does not even have a craft deserving of praise or of interest, but who simply wears his hair long.[4]

But if you think it a better and wiser course,[5]

I must do this and try to the best of my ability. However, you will not hear words such as you would hear from any other man of the present day, but words much less pretentious and wearisome, in fact just such as you now observe. And in brief you must allow me to pursue any thought that occurs to me and not become annoyed if you find me wander-

would belong philosophy, ordinary writing in verse or prose, sculpture and painting, to the meaner the trades and crafts and the rest. The sophist and the orator belong to the nobler and to the meaner divisions respectively.

[4] Long hair was the badge of the philosopher, as Dio himself says in Discourse 35. 2; in no very favourable light. In Discourse 71. 2 he refers to the dirt in which caused by long hair.

[5] Morsbach, *Odyssey* I. 276, 2. 14.

μὴ ἀγωνιᾶτε δὲν φαινόμεθα πλανώμενοι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἕνεκα[1] πλανώμενος, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ ἀκούοντας ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ ἀσόφου

Καὶ γὰρ δὴ τυγχάνω μικράν τινα ὁδὸν τε νῦν πεπορευμένος εἰδὼ τοῦ Ἴστρου καὶ τῆς Γετῶν χώρας ἢ Μυσῶν, οὓς φησιν Ὅμηρος κατὰ τὴν
17 τῶν ἱππομολγῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ἦλθον δὲ οὐ χρημάτων ἐμπορος οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ στρατοπέδου σκευοφόρων ἢ βοηλατῶν, οὐδὲ πρεσβευτὴς ἐφεσθεὶς συμμαχίας ἢ τινὰ εὐφημίαν, τῶν ἀπὸ γλώττης μόνον συνεγχομένων,[2]

γυμνὸς ἄτερ κορυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδ' ἔχον ἔγχος,

18 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλο ὅπλον οὐθαρ ὥστε ἐθυμαίνετο ὅπως με πνείοντα ὁρώντες οὔτε γὰρ[3] ἱππεύειν ἐπιστάμενος οὔτε τοξότης ἱκανὸς ὢν οὔθ' ὁπλίτης, ἀλλ' ἀνὸς τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἀνοπλίων τὴν βαρεῖαν

[1] ἕνεκα Reiske: ἕνεκα

[2] After συγγνώμην the MSS have the following words, which Valesius bracketed: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲ χρὴ ἀπεκρυπτόμεθα οὐδὲ ἀποκρυπτόμεθα ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἀπόκρυφα ἀφεῖ καὶ τὸν μετὰκεῖνον ἀφεῖμεν ὡς ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν ἀφεῖ τὸν ἄλλον ἄλλῳ δὲ ἀφεῖ ἄλλῳ δὲ ἀφεῖ τὸν ἄλλῳ δὲ ἀφεῖ τὸν ἄλλῳ δὲ ἀφεῖ τὸν ἄλλῳ ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀφεῖ τὸν ἄλλῳ ἀφεῖ τὸν ἄλλῳ ἀφεῖ τὸν

ing in my remarks exactly as in the past I have lived a life of roving, but you must grant me your indulgence, bearing in mind that you are listening to a man who is a layman and who is fond of talking.[1]

For in fact, as it happens, I have just finished a long, long journey, all the way from the Ister[2] and the land of the Getae, or Mysians[3] as Homer, using the modern designation of the race, calls them. And I went there not as a merchant with his wares, nor yet as one of the supply-train of the army in the capacity of baggage-carrier or cattle-driver, nor was I discharging a mission as ambassador to our allies or on some embassy bearing congratulations, the members of which join in prayers with the lips only. I went

> Unarmed, with neither helm nor shield nor lance,[4]

nor indeed with any other weapon either, so that I marvelled that they brooked the sight of me. For I, who could not ride a horse and was not a skilled bowman or man-at-arms, nor yet a javelin-thrower, or slinger, belonging to the light-armed

[1] See also Discourse 7. 1.

[2] The Danube.

[3] The Getae, a Thracian people, were called Daci by the Romans. The Mysi, to whom Homer refers, were also a Thracian people who crossed over from Europe to Asia at a very early period. Dio identifies the Mysi with the Moesi, who lived south of the Danube, and these Moesi with the Getae, or Dacians, who lived north of the river.

Dio wrote a historical work τὰ Γετικά, now lost.

[4] Homer, *Iliad* II. 50.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

troops who carry no heavy armour nor again, was able to cut timber or dig a trench, nor to raise fodder from an enemy's territory, with many a grace behind. I was yet to raise a tent or a rampart, yet as certain non-combatants do who follow the legions as he pass! I, who was unfit for all such things, came among men who were not dilettanti and yet had no desire to listen to speeches, but were high-strung and eager, and were ready at the starting barriers, fretting at the delay and in their excitement and eagerness pawing the ground with their hoofs. There one could see everywhere swords, everywhere contests, everywhere spears and, so whose I was crowded with horses, with arms, and with armed men! Quite some I appeared in the midst of [illegible] and a most peaceful observer of war, weak in body and advanced in years, not bearing a golden sceptre or the sacred [illegible] of any god[1] and arriving at the camp on an unusual journey to gain a daughter's release, but desiring to see strong men contending for empire and power and their opposites for freedom and native land. Then, not because I abstain from the largest, yet as one thing this, but because I [illegible] to mind an old vow, I turned my course hither to you, ever considering that the gods do have the greater share and are more profitable than things human, however important these may be.

[1] Imperial sceptre mentioned of the boy-king in Thucydides I. 17.

[2] A reference to [illegible] to attend the Olympic [illegible] the month [illegible]

[3] [illegible] to the Greek camp before Troy to redeem his daughter.

21 Πότερον οὖν ἥδιον ὑμῖν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν καιρῷ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ διηγήσασθαι, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν φύσιν ἢ ὡρῶν ὡς ἔχουσι κράσεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ[1] τοῦ γένους, ἔτι δέ, οἶμαι, τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἢ μᾶλλον ἅψασθαι τῆς πρεσβυτέρας τε καὶ μείζονος ἱστορίας περὶ τοιῶδε τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ'
22 οὗ νῦν ἐσμεν, οὗτος γὰρ δὴ κοινὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλεύς τε καὶ ἄρχων καὶ πρύτανις καὶ πατήρ, ἔτι δε εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου τιμίας, ὡς τοῖς πρότερον ἐμπείροις καὶ σοφοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔδοξεν, ἐάν πως ἱκανοὶ γενώμεθα τήν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμνῆσαι λόγῳ βραχεῖ καὶ ἀποδέοντι τῆς ἀξίας, αὐτά που ταῦτα λέγοντες.[2]

23 Ἆρ' οὖν κατὰ Ἡσίοδον ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ Μούσαις φίλον ἀρκτέον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος μάλα ἐμφρόνως οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐτόλμησεν ἄρξασθαι[3] παρ' αὐτοῦ διανοηθείς, ἀλλὰ τὰς Μούσας παρακαλεῖ διηγήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ σφετέρου πατρός; τῷ παντὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον πρέπον τόδε τὸ ᾆσμα ταῖς θεαῖς ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον ἐλθόντας ἀριθμεῖν, αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ σέλματα τῶν νεῶν ἐφεξῆς, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνόητοι ἦσαν καὶ τίς[4] ποιητὴς σοφώτερός τε καὶ ἀμείνων ἢ[4] ὁ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ὧδέ πως;

[1] περὶ added by Reiske.
[2] λέγοντες Reiske: λέγοντας.
[3] ἄρξασθαι Reiske: εὔξασθαι.
[4] τις and ἢ added by Cappa, found in some MSS.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Now is it more agreeable and more opportune for you that I should describe what I saw there — the immense size of the river and the character of the country, what climate the inhabitants enjoy and their racial stock, and further I suppose the population and their military strength? Or should you prefer that I take up the older and greater tale of the god at whose temple we are now? For he is indeed sire of men and of gods, the king and ruler and lord and father, and in addition the dispenser of peace and of war, as the experienced and wise poets of the past believed[1] — to see if perchance we can commemorate with his nature and his power in a brief speech which will fall short of what it should be even if we confine ourselves to these two themes alone.

Should I, then, begin in the manner of Hesiod, a man good and beloved of the Muses, imitating the way in which he quite shrewdly does not venture to begin in his own person and express his own thoughts, but invites the Muses to tell about their own father? For this hymn to the goddesses is altogether more fitting than to enumerate those who went against Troy, both themselves and the heroics of their ancestors, although the majority of the men were quite unknown. And what poet is wiser and better than he who invokes and for this work in the following manner?

[1] In the works of Homer Zeus is often spoken of as Father, e.g. in the *Iliad* i. 544 & 22. In the term *Kronion* is never applied to him or to any other god, [illegible] to man. The [illegible] of [illegible] is applied [illegible] both gods and men. In Hesiod [illegible] Zeus is called [illegible] Zeus as lightning [illegible] war, e.g. *Iliad* 22 210 f.f.3. Compare § 78 of this discourse.

24 Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν ἀοιδῇσι κλείουσαι,
δεῦτε Διὸς ἐννέπετε σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνείουσαι,
ὃντε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε
ῥητοί τ', ἄρρητοί τε, Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἕκητι·
ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.

25 ὑπολαβόντες οὖν εἴπατε πότερον ἁρμόζων ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ[1] τὰ ᾄσμα τῇ συνόδῳ γένοιτ' ἄν, ὦ παῖδες Ἠλείων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγεμόνες τῆσδε τῆς πανηγύρεως, ἔφοροί τε καὶ ἐπίσκοποι τῶν ἐνθάδε ἔργων καὶ λόγων[2] ἢ δεῖ θεατὰς εἶναι μόνον τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἥκοντας τῶν τε ἄλλων δῆλον ὅτι παγκάλων καὶ σφόδρα ἐνδόξων θεαμάτων καὶ δὴ μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας καὶ τῷ ὄντι μακαρίας εἰκόνος, ἣν ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι δαπάνης τε ὑπερβολῇ καὶ τέχνης ἐπιτυχόντες τῆς ἄκρας εἰργάσαντο καὶ ἀνέθεσαν, πάντων ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ

[1] καὶ Wilamowitz ἢ.
[2] After λόγων Kayser proposed to insert the words found in the MSS. after συνευχομένων in § 17 which are given in a footnote there, Reiske proposed to insert them after ἥκοντας in the next line, and Emperius after Ὀλυμπίων in § 26

O ye Pierian Muses, who glorify man by your lays,
Draw nigh me and sing for me Zeus your father, and chant his praise.
It is he through whom mortal men are renowned or unrenowned;
At the pleasure of Zeus most high by fame are they crowned or discrowned,
For lightly he strengtheneth this one, and strength unto that one denies,
Lightly abases the haughty, the lowly he magnifies,
Lightly the crooked he straightens, and withers the pride of the proud,
Even Zeus who thunders on high, who dwelleth in mansions of cloud.[1]

Answer, therefore and tell me whether the address I offer and the hymn would prove more suitable to this assemblage you sons of Elis—for you are the rulers and the directors of this national festal gathering, both supervisors and guardians of what is said and done here or perhaps those who have gathered here should be spectators merely, not only of the sights to be seen, admittedly altogether beautiful and exceedingly renowned, but, very specially, of the worship of the god and of his truly blessed image, which your ancestors by lavish expenditure and by securing the service of the highest art made and set up as a dedication—of all the statues which are upon the earth the most beautiful and the most

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 1-8, translated by A. S. Way.

γῆς ἀγάλματα, κάλλιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον, πρὸς τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν ποίησιν, ὥς φασι, Φειδίου παραβαλλομένου, τοῦ δωήσαντος ὀλίγῳ νεύματι
26 τῶν ὀφρύων τὸν ξύμπαντα Ὄλυμπον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος μάλιστα ἐναργῶς καὶ πεποιθότως ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἴρηκεν,

ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων,
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον

ἢ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων σκεπτέον ἡμῖν ἐπιμελέστερον, τῶν τε ποιημάτων καὶ ἀναθημάτων, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς, εἴ τι τοιουτότροπόν ἐστι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου δόξαν ἀμηγέπῃ πλάττον καὶ ἀνατυποῦν, ὅτε εἰ φιλοσόφου διατριβῇ τὰ νοήσειν;[1]

27 Περὶ δὴ[2] θεῶν τῆς τε καθόλου φύσεως καὶ

[1] οὖσιν added by Reiske, other editors regard the sentence as incomplete.
[2] δὴ Reiske δὲ.

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[a] Another reference to Phaidias' masterpiece, the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The god was seated upon a throne of cedar wood, every available part of which was adorned with smaller statues. The flesh was represented by ivory, the robe was of beaten gold. In his right hand Zeus held an ivory and gold statue of Victory, in his left hand he held a sceptre which was ornamented with various kinds of metal and surmounted by an eagle.

This statue needed repairs in the second century B.C., when Damophon of Messene was called in for the purpose. In A.D. 475 it was carried off to Constantinople by the Emperor Theodosius I., where it was destroyed in a fire.

dear to the gods.* Pheidias having, as we are told, taken his pattern from Homer's poems, where the god by a slight inclination of his brows shook Olympus, as the great poet most vividly and convincingly has expressed it in the following verses:

> He said, and nodded with his shadowy brows,
> Waved o'er his immortal head his ambrosial locks,
> And all Olympus trembled at his nod.†

Or, should we somewhat more carefully consider these two topics themselves, I mean the expressions of our poets and the dedications here, and try to ascertain whether there is some sort of influence which in some way actually moulds and gives expression to many conceptions of the deity, exactly as if we were in a philosopher's lecture room at this moment?

Now concerning the nature of the gods in general,

There are many references in ancient literature to the great admiration [illegible] *Concerning of Excellence* [illegible] says that it was concerned a [illegible] without having [illegible] This [illegible] to [illegible] shall [illegible] Compare also §§ 61 and 62 of this Discourse.

* [illegible] and 320–330, translated by the Earl of Derby. Compare Milton, *Paradise Lost* 2. 186–187:

> Thus saying, from his throne, unshaken firmness ill'd
> A [illegible] as in the blessed spirits seat
> Sensible of no change, nor shadow of dread

That Pheidias modeled the Zeus of Olympia as pictured in the above passage in the Iliad is [illegible] In other passages in [illegible] *Paulus* 28. 2. See also the Discourse, §§ 56 and 62.

μάλιστα τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνος πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ἐν πρώτοις δόξα καὶ ἐπινοία κοινὴ τοῦ ξύμπαντος ἀνθρωπίνου γένους ὁμοίως μὲν Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως δὲ βαρβάρων, ἀναγκαία καὶ ἔμφυτος ἐν παντὶ τῷ λογικῷ, γενομένη κατὰ φύσιν οὖσαν θηητοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ μυταγωγοῦ χωρὶς ἀπάτης, κεχωρηκεν,[1] ἐθνίων[2] τε τὴν ξυγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ μαρτύρια τάληθοῦς, ὃν ἅπαντα κατασταξαι καὶ ἀμελῆσαι τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις καὶ παλαιοτάτοις
28 ἅτε γὰρ οὐ μακρὰν οὐδ' ἔξω τοῦ θείου διωκισμένοι καθ' αὑτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ μέσῳ πεφυκότες μᾶλλον δὲ συμπεφυκότες ἀκριβῶς καὶ προσεχόμενοι παντὶ τρόπῳ, οὐκ ἐδύναντο μαχρὶ πλείστον ἐξίστασθαι μένειν, ἄλλως τε συνόντων καὶ λόγων ἐπιφόρων παρ'[3] αὐτοῦ, ἅτε δὴ περιλαμπόμενοι παντοθὲν θείοις καὶ μεγάλοις φάσμασιν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ ἄστρων, ἔτι δὲ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐντυγχάνοντες ποικίλοις καὶ ἀνόμοιοις εἴδεσιν, ὄμβρις τε ἀμηχάνους ὁρῶντες καὶ φωνὰς ἀκούοντες παντοδαπὰς ἀνέμων τε καὶ ὕλης καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ θαλάττης, ἔτι δὲ ζώων ἡμέρων καὶ ἀγρίων, αὐτοί τε φθόγγον ἥδιστον καὶ σαφέστατον ἱέντες καὶ ἐγκωμιάζοντες τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην

[1] ἐγκεχρηκεν Sauppe, κεκείρε Arnim, κεν χωρὶς Ital. UBM, χωρὶς P V. [2] ἔθνων Capps, ἀνα. [3] παρ Reiske, παν

[1] Here follows an account of the origin of man and of his first conception of God which is partly old and partly own elements, but some of the ideas and their [illegible] in Plato. See for example, Plato, *Phaedrus* 24[illegible] a, *Republic* 2 37[illegible] e.

[2] This idea of an innate conception of God, see also 39, is also found in Cicero, *Leges* 1 8 24. It is [illegible] that both got the idea from Posidonius, a stoic philosopher born about

and experts to that of the ruler of the universe.[1] first and foremost an idea regarding him and a conception of him common to all whose human race, be Greeks and to the barbarians either a conception that [illegible] and [illegible] in every creature endowed with reason,[2] arising in the course of nature without the aid of human teacher and free from the [illegible] of any expounding priest has made its way and [illegible] [illegible] with man and furnished many evidences of the truth, which did not suffer the earliest and most ancient men to doze and grow indifferent to them, for inasmuch as these earlier men were not living dispersed far away from the divine being or had his handiwork apart by themselves but had grown up in the very centre of things or rather had grown up in his company and had enjoyed close to him in every way they could not for any length of time continue to be ignorant beings, especially more they had received from him [illegible] and the [illegible] for reason [illegible] as they were on every side by the divine and magnificent glories of heaven and the state of sun and moon by night and by day encountering varied and [illegible] experiences seeing wondrous sights and hearing [illegible] voices of winds and forest and rivers and sea of animal tame and wild, while they themselves uttered a most pleasing and clear sound, and taking thought as the proud and intelligent

[illegible] who gave instructions to Cicero. See Wagner, op. cit., p. [illegible] [illegible] Tatiangen [illegible]

Among us men the [illegible] the gods — [illegible]

φωτὶ τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ἐπιστῆμον, ἐπιθέμενοι
σύμβολα τοῖς εἰς αἴσθησιν ἀφικνουμένοις, ὡς οὖν
τὸ κοινὸν ὀνομάζειν καὶ δηλοῦν, κυμαρῶν ἀπείρων
20 πραγμάτων καὶ [1] μέτρων καὶ ἐπνοίας παραλαμβά-
νοντες. πῶς οὖν ἀγνῶτες εἶναι ἔμελλον καὶ
μηδεμίαν ἕξιν ὑποπτον τοῦ σπείραντος καὶ
φυτεύσαντος καὶ αὐξήσαντος καὶ τρέψαντος,
πόθεν ταχέως ἐπιμελημένοι τῆς θείας φύσεως διά τε
ὄψεως καὶ ἀκοῆς συμπάσης τε ἀτεχνοῦς αἰσθήσεως;
νεμόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀρδόμενοι δ' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φῶς,
τροφὴς δὲ ἀφθόνους ἔχοντες, ἐπορισμένου καὶ
20 προπαρασκευασάντος τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ· πρώ-
την μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες [2] τὴν γεώδη,
μαλακῆς ἔτι καὶ ποιὸς τῆς ἰλύος τότε οὔσης,
ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μητρὸς τῆς γῆς λιχμώμενοι, καθάπερ
τὰ φυτὰ νῦν ἕλκουσι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἰκμάδα δευτέραν
δὲ οἱ ἤδη πρόσθεν [3] καρπῶν τε αὐτομάτων
καὶ ποίας οὐ σκληρᾶς, ἅμα δρόσῳ γλυκείᾳ καὶ

νάμασι νυμφῶν ποτίμοις,

καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἠρτημένοι καὶ τρεφό-
μενοι τῇ διηνεκεῖ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιροῇ, ἀέρα
ὑγρὸν ἕλκοντες, ὥστε [4] νηπίοις παῖδες, οὔπω
ἐπιλιπόντος γάλακτος ἀεὶ σφίσι θηλῆς [5] ἐγκειμέ-
21 νης· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἂν [6] ταύτην δικαιότερον λέ-

[1] καὶ omitted in M, bracketed by Reid.
[2] οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες λιχμώμενοι of the MSS. changed to dative by Wilamowitz who inserts καὶ before αὐτόχθονες.
[3] ἐν πρόσθεν Cobet: τοῖς . . . πρόσθεν.
[4] ὥστε Reid: ὥσπερ.
[5] θηλῆς M: τοῖς λήθης.
[6] ἂν Reiske: ἀν.

quality of the human race, attached symbols to the objects that reached their senses, so as to be able to name and designate everything perceived, thus easily acquiring memories and concepts of innumerable things. How then could they have remained ignorant and conceived no image of him who had sowed and nourished and was now preserving and [illegible] them, when on every side they were filled with the divine nature through both sight and hearing, and in fact through every sense? They dwelt upon the earth, they beheld the light of heaven, they had nourishment in abundance, for God, their ancestor, had lavishly provided and prepared it to their hand. As a first nourishment the first men, being the very children of the sun, had the earth's food, the moist loam at that time being soft and rich—which they licked up from the earth, their mother as it were, even as plants now draw the moisture therefrom. Then the later generation, who were now advancing, had a second nourishment consisting of wild fruits and tender herbs along with sweet dew and

fresh nymph-haunted rills[1]

Furthermore, being in contact with the circumambient air and nourished by the unceasing inflow of their breath, they succeed in most air[2] as milk to suck in their food, this milk never failing them because the feat was ever at their lips. Indeed, we should almost be justified in calling this be

[illegible] which in Greek falls into the dactylic metre, is apparently quotation from some [illegible] poet. The phrase [illegible] (Translation: Epodes 1)

[1] According to the translation (Le Sueur), the breathing of moist air and to drinking

γουμεν[1] πρώτην τροφὴν τοῖς τε πρότερον καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἁπλῶς[2] · ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἐκπεσὼν τῆς γαστρὸς καθαρὸν ἔτι καὶ ἄδρανες τὸ βρέφος, δέχεται μὲν ἡ γῆ, ἡ τῷ ὄντι μήτηρ· ὁ δὲ ἀὴρ εἰσπνεύσας τε καὶ εἰσφυσήσας[3] αὐτὸ ἥγειρεν ὑγροτέρᾳ τροφῇ γαλακτος καὶ φθέγξασθαι παρεσχεν ταύτην εἰκότως πρώτην λέγοντ' ἂν τοῖς γεγενημένοις
22 ἡ φύσις ἐπιχεῖν θηλήν. ἃ δὴ παρόντες, ἐπιποθοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο μὴ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις αἰσθανόμενοι τῶν ὡρῶν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἕνεκα γίγνονται σωτηρίας πάνυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ πεφυσιωμένως ἑκατέρας τῆς ὑπερβολῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε αἰσθανόμενοι ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν θείων πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα, τό[4] λογίζεσθαι τε
23 καὶ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν · σχεδὸν οὖν ὅμοιον ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἄνδρα, Ἕλληνα ἢ βάρβαρον, μυεῖσθαι παραδοὶη[5] εἰς μυστικόν τινα μυχον[6] ὑπερφυῆ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει, πολλὰ μὲν ὁρῶντα μυστικὰ θεάματα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκούοντα τοιούτων φωνῶν, σκότους τε καὶ φωτὸς ἀλλάξ αὐτῷ φαινομένων, ἄλλων τε μυρίων γεγενημένων, ἔτι δὲ εἰ καθαπερ

[1] λέγομεν Reiske : λέγομεν.
[2] ἁπλῶς Cobet : ἀνὴρ.
[3] εἰσπνεύσας Capps : εἰσφύσας.
[4] τό [illegible] Arnim.
[5] παραδοὶ Casaubon : παραδοὶ.
[6] μυχὸν Selden : μέλον.

[1] In what follows we have a reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries. On the fifteenth of Boëdromion, nearly our September, those who were to be initiated into the Mysteries assembled in the Stoa Poikile and were instructed under the guidance of experts called mystagogues (leaders of the mystae or novices).

first nourishment for both the sucklings and the receiving great at once without [illegible] For when the [illegible] grass and herbs are cast forth from the earth the earth [illegible] it and the air after breathing [illegible] [illegible] at once awakens it [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

εἰωθότες δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ θρόνῳ καθίσαντες τῶν μεμυημένων οἱ τελεσταὶ κύκλῳ περιγενόμενοι ἅμα γε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον μόνον τοιοῦν εἶναι τῇ φύσει μετὰ ἐπιστήμης τε γεγενημένα, ὡς μετὰ γνώμης καὶ παρασκευῆς πρὸς τὰς συμφοράς, εἰ καὶ τοῦ τε εἰς τὸν μαστιγίαν καὶ ἀνάγκας βαρβάρων μόνον εἰρηνικὸν μόνῳ ἐρωτικὸν
34 παρεστῶτος, αὐτοκράτορα φύσει ἔχων, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀνωτέρω κοινῇ δὲ ἐμοὶ τε τὸν πάντων γένος τὴν εἰδοκίμησιν καὶ τὸ ὅτι τελεῖν τελεστὴν μεμυημένον, οὐκ ἐν σκότῳ μόνον παρασκευάσαντα θεῶν τρόπον ὑποδοχὴν ἄχλοῃ βρύχειν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἀλλὰ δὲ τοῦδε τὸν ἀνθρωπον τοιοῦδε καὶ σοφὸν δημιουργήματι, μόνον ἐκείνοις θαυμαστὸν φαινόμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ οὐκ αὐτόκρατον ἀνάγκαις τῶν τελουμένων, ἀλλὰ θεῶν ἀνάγκαις ὄντων τελουντων, νυκτὶ τε καὶ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ φωτὶ καὶ ἀστρῳ, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, ἀνάγκαις παρεγγυήσαντα αὐτὸν τοῦτον ξυνεστῶτα μόνον ἐν ἀνάγκαις μόνῳ γνώσεσι λαβεῖν, μαθόντα δὲ τοῦ παντὸς πρόσωπον τῶν ὅλων καὶ κατανοήσαντα τὸν ἄνωθεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον,

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[1] [illegible] as far as I know, occurs only here and in Maximus ii 104. Maximus was an E[illegible] philosopher [illegible] But in Plato [illegible] we find the expression [illegible] and [illegible] in a similar vein of the Corybantes. See [illegible] note.

[2] [illegible] as in the [illegible] of the Corybantes. See Plato [illegible] These two are [illegible] be [illegible] in the [illegible] ceremony. The [illegible] when they make the out[illegible] the man with [illegible] they are about to initiate. [illegible] that are [illegible] [illegible] and now [illegible] you and dance as if were in sport, as if attempting to initiate

ment,[1] where the inducting priests are wont to seat the novices and then dance round and round them—pray is it [illegible] that he man in this nature would be no whit moved in his mind and would not suspect that all which was taking place was the result of a more than wise intention and preparation, even if he belonged to the most remote and [illegible] and had no guide and interpreter at his side—provided, of course, that he had the mind of a human being. Or rather, is this not simply [illegible] to say that the whole human race, when [illegible] the complete and truly perfect initiation, not in a little building erected by the Athenians for the reception of a small company, but in this universe, a vast and [illegible] wrought creation, in which [illegible] marvels appeal at every moment, and where, furthermore, the rites are being performed, not by human beings who are of no [illegible] than the initiates themselves, but by immortal gods who are [illegible] and night and day both in [illegible] and under the stars are—if we may dare to use the term—literally dancing around them forever—is it possible to suppose, I repeat, that of all these things he perceives not a [illegible] or that he gained no faintest inkling of them? and especially when the leader of the chorus was in charge of the whole spectacle and directing the entire heaven and we

[illegible]

[1] With [illegible] This refers to the visible gods such as the sun and with [illegible] to the [illegible] and invisible [illegible] of the universe, as [illegible] indicates.

[illegible]

[illegible] ὁ γὰρ ἐν τῷ [illegible] τὸ τοιοῦτον γενόμενον [illegible] τε δὴ πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅσῳ καὶ μέγα τῶν θηρίων διαφέρει τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ἄλλων, ὡς καὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις καὶ τιμᾷ τὸν θεὸν καὶ [illegible] τῶν [illegible] θεῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον [illegible] τὰ φῦλα, οὐ μόνον μήκους ὄντα, ἀλλὰ [illegible] καὶ ἄφωνα ἀνὴρ τῶν φωνὴ διακόνημα, ὡς δὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν κρίνον ἀλφάνει τὸν ἀρετῶντα ἀνάγκη. οὕτω πάνυ [illegible] καὶ [illegible] λόγῳ ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμη καὶ διάνοια [illegible] ἀλλ' ἄνω σκόλοψ γελάσω καὶ οὐ χρὴ δεῖ μὴ ἐπὶ τοιοῦδε[1] τοὺς λόγους ἐγγύτερον φαίνεσθαι εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ζώων τοὺς θηρίους καὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἅπερ τῷ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τε καὶ ἄγνοιαν ἀπὸ ἑτέρου τοὺς σοφωτέρους γεγονέναι τῆς ἀνθρώπου σοφίας, οὐ πάνυ ἐγγύτατα τοῖς ἀνοῖ. ὥστε, εἰμὶ φασὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κατὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν μὴ κατεκόπτοντα τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φύσιν πάλαι μαθεῖν τοὺς μαθόντας ἅμα καὶ ἔτι τὸν φωνὴν φασὶ ἐν δὲ εἶμα, πρὸ τῶν ἀσθένειαν ἀκούσας πολὺ πρωΐ[illegible] καὶ ἀγνῶν ὑφ' ἧς Ὅμηρος φησὶ κωφοῦσθαι τὸν κατεπτόρυκτα ἐκ γεγονότων θεῶν, ὑπερφοβοῦσι τὰ θεῖα καὶ μεν ἀδικοῦμεν ἀκμῆνα τοιοῦτον καὶ ἄνοιαν,[2] τρυ-

[1] τοῖσδε added by Cobet.
[2] ἄνοιαν or ἀνοῖαν Herwerden, ἀνοῖαν Unger. Dindorf.

[1] The Epicureans are meant. For a similar expression see § 11.

verse, even as a skilful pilot commands a ship that has been [illegible] and [illegible] nothing.[1]

That human [illegible] in no effected would [illegible] but [illegible] that as we see, the influence reaches even the [illegible] of irrational beasts, so that even they recognize and honour the god and desire to live according to his ordinance, and it is strange that the plants which have no conception of [illegible] but lie [illegible] and voiceless are [illegible] a unique sort of nature, it is passing strange I say that even these [illegible] and [illegible] yield each its own proper fruit, so very great and evident is the will and power of yonder god. Nay I wonder if we should be brought [illegible] and have [illegible] the [illegible] in view of this reasoning, if we maintain that this unexpected knowledge is indeed more natural for the beasts and the trees than disease and ignorance are for us? Why, [illegible] men have at our themselves wiser than we wisdom! [illegible], they have poured into these ears, not was, as I believe they say that the sirens from Ithaca did that they might not hear the song of the sirens,[2] but a substance has sped and at once and impenetrable by the human voice and they also methinks have hung before their eyes a curtain of deep darkness and not the that which, according to Homer, kept the god from being recognized when he was caught,[3] these men, then, despise all things divine and having set up the image of one single female divinity depraved and monstrous,

[1] Homer, *Odyssey* 13. 173.
[2] Zeus with Hera: see Homer, *Iliad* 14. 346 and elsewhere 11. 21.

φήν τινα ἢ ῥαθυμίαν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνειμένην ὕβριν, Ἡδονὴν ἐπονομάζοντες, γυναικείαν τῷ ὄντι θεόν, προτιμῶσι καὶ θεραπεύουσι κυμβάλοις τισὶν ὑποψοφοῦσι[1] καὶ αὐλοῖς ὑπὸ σκότος αὐλουμένοις, ἧς
37 εὐωχίας οὐδεὶς ἐκείνοις φθόνος, εἰ μέχρι τοῦ ᾄδειν αὐτοῖς τὸ σοφὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν ἀφηρεῖτο καὶ ἀπῴκιζον, ἐξελαύνοντες ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεώς τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου παντος, εἴς τινας χώρας ἀτόπους, καθάπερ ἀνθρώπους δυστυχεῖς εἴς τινας νήσους ἐρήμους· τάδε δὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα φύσκοντες ἀγνώμονα καὶ ἄφρονα καὶ ἄδεσποτα καὶ μηδένα ἔχοντα ἄρχοντα μηδὲ ταμίαν μηδὲ ἐπιστάτην πλανᾶσθαι εἰκῇ καὶ φέρεσθαι, μηδενος μήτε νῦν προνοοῦντος μήτε πρότερον ἐργασαμένου τὸ πᾶν, μηδὲ ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς τροχοὺς αὐτοὶ κινήσαντες εἶτα ἐῶσιν ἀφ' αὑτῶν φέρεσθαι.

38 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπεξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος καθ' αὑτὸν ἐκβάς· τυχὸν γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τὸν τοῦ φιλοσόφου νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἐπισχεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν ὁρμήσῃ, τοῦ ξυναντῶντος ἀεὶ φαινομένου ξυμφέροντος καὶ ἀναγκαίου τοῖς ἀκουομένοις, οὐ μελετηθέντα πρὸς ὕδωρ καὶ δικανικὴν ἀνάγκην, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔφη τις,

[1] ὑποψοφοῦσι Capps, ἐνψόφοις Reinke, πολυψόφοις Herwerden ἢ ψόφοις or ἀψόφοις

[1] Dio refers to the soft tinkling of the sistrum in the worship of Isis.

representing a kind of wantonness or self-indulgent ease and an estranged lewdness, to which they gave the name of Pleasure—an effeminate god in very truth—her they prefer in honour and worship with softly tinkling cymbals like instruments, or with pipes played under cover of darkness[1]—a form of entertainment which nobody would grudge such men if their cleverness went only as far as singing, and they did not attempt to take our gods from us and send them into banishment, driving them out of their own state and kingdom, clean out of this ordered universe to alien regions, even as unfortunate human beings are banished to sundry uninhabited isles, and all this universe above us they assert is without purpose or intelligence or master, has no ruler or even steward or overseer, but wanders at random and is swept aimlessly along,[2] no master being there to take thought for it now, and no creator having made it in the first place, or even doing as the boys do with their hoops, which they set in motion of their own accord, and then let them roll along of themselves.

Now to explain this digression my argument is responsible, having turned aside of itself, for perhaps it is not easy to check the course of a philosopher's thoughts and speech, no matter what direction they may take; for whatever suggests itself to his mind always seems profitable, nay indispensable, for his audience, and my speech has not been prepared to "suit the water-clock and the constraint of court procedure," to use somebody's

[1] This was the teaching of Epicurus. Compare Hippocrates 143. 30 "to wander amazedly," ἀπορεῦσαν πλανωμένην.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

expression,' but allows itself a great deal of license. With it is not difficult to run back again just as on a voyage it is not difficult for competent steersmen who have got a wind off their course to get back upon it.

To resume then. Of man's belief in the deity and his worship [illegible] there is a god we were maintaining, but the function head as we may say to source, was that idea which is innate in [illegible] and consequently being on the record of the actual facts and the truth on this, that was not framed confusedly nor yet at random, but has been exceedingly ancient and persistent since the beginning of time and was [illegible] among all nations and [illegible] being, one may call it, a common and general endowment of [illegible] beings.[1]

As the second source we designate the idea which has been acquired and indeed implanted in men's souls through no other means than narrative accounts, myths and [illegible] in some cases ascribed to no author and [illegible] but in others written and having as their authors men of very great fame.[2] Of this acquired notion of the divine being we can say that one part is voluntary and due to exhortation, another part compulsory and premeditated.

[illegible] —[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] Aristotle, Politics 1.2.5 d.

λέγω δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἑκουσίου καὶ παραμυθίας ἐχομένην
τὴν τῶν ποιητῶν, τοῦ δὲ ἀναγκαίου καὶ προστά-
ξεως τὴν τῶν νομοθετῶν· τούτων γὰρ σύδετεραν
ἰσχύσαι δυνατὸν μὴ πρώτης ἐκείνης ὑποούσης, δι'
ἣν βουλόμενοι ἐνεγίγνοντο[1] καὶ τρόπον τινὰ
προειδόσιν αὐτοῖς αἵ τε προστάξεις καὶ παραμυθίαι,
τῶν μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ ξυμφώνως ἐξηγουμένων ποιη-
τῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν, τῇ τε ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐννοίαις,
41 τῶν δὲ ἀποπλανωμένων ἔν τισιν. ἀμφοῖν δὲ τοῖν
λεγομένοιν πατέραν πρεσβυτέραν φῶμεν τοῦ χρόνου
παρά γε ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ποιησιν ἢ[2] νομοθεσίαν,
οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι διατεινόμενος εἰπεῖν τῷ παρόντι,
πρέπει δὲ ἴσως τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πειστικὸν[3] ἀρχαιό-
τερον εἶναι τοῦ μετὰ ζημίας καὶ προστάξεως·
42 σχεδὸν οὖν μέχρι τούδε ὁμοίως πρόσεισι τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις τὰ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀθανάτου
γονέως, ὃν καὶ πατρῷον Δία καλοῦμεν οἱ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος κοινωνοῦντες, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν θνητῶν καὶ
ἀνθρωπίνων γονέων· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνους
εὔνοια καὶ θεραπεία τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρώτη μὲν ἀπὸ
τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀδιάλυτος ὑπάρχει,
τὸ γεννῆσαν καὶ τρέφον καὶ στέργον τοῦ γεννη-
43 θέντος εὐθὺς ἀντιφιλοῦντος καὶ ἀντιθεραπεύοντος

[1] ἐνεγίγνοντο Capps: ἐγίγνοντο.
[2] ἢ Lamarti: καὶ.
[3] πειστικὸν Koehler: ἀκριβὲς.

[1] That is, some of both the lawgivers and the poets.

[illegible]

ὅπου ἂν ᾖ δυνατόν, δευτέρα δὲ καὶ τρίτη, ἢ ἀνὰ[1] ποιητῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν, τῶν μὲν παραινούντων μὴ ἀποστερεῖν χάριν τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἐγγενές, ὅτι δὴ αἴτιον ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, τῶν δὲ ἐπαναγκαζόντων καὶ ἀπειλούντων κολάσεσι τοῖς οὐ πειθομένοις, ἅπερ τοῦ διασαφεῖν καὶ δηλοῦν ἀποῖοί τινές εἰσιν οἱ γονεῖς καὶ τίνων εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖοι[2] χρεῶν ὀφειλόμενον κελεύουσι μὴ ἀνάστατον[3] εἶναι· ἐν δὲ[4] τοῖς περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγοις καὶ μύθοις μᾶλλον ἔτι[5] τοῦτο ἴδοις ἂν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων γεγενημένον.

Ὁρῶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε τοὺς πολλοὺς παντελῶς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν κοπιῶντας καὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲν ἧττον οἷς μέλει πλήθους μόνον, οὐ[6] οὐδὲν δὴ[7] προνοουμένους οὐδὲ διατελοῦντας περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχῆς ἀρχόμενοι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν[8] ὥς φασιν, ἁπλοῦς ποιεῖ διεξιόντες τὰ φανερώτατα καὶ γυμνότατα· καὶ τούτων μὲν ἁπλῶς οὐ μεγάλη βλάβη διὰ τε πλοῦ καὶ πολλῶν καθαρμάτων ἰόντων, γλωττῆς δὲ ἀνεπιστήμονος οὐ μικρὰ ζημία γίγνεται τοῖς ἀκουομένοις· ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους, εἴν λόγον τινὰ[10] ἔχειν ἄξιον, συνιέναι καὶ συνεπαινεῖν, μέχρις ἂν ὡς ἐκ παμπήδ τινος καὶ διαχωρίας καταστήσωμεν εἰς εὐθεῖαν τοὺς λόγους.

[1] ἢ del. added by Capps.
[2] [illegible] Γ [illegible] ἀναγκαῖα.
[3] ἀνάστατον M: καὶ ἀνάστατον.
[4] δὲ [illegible] in M.
[5] ἔτι W [illegible] M Gael, followed by most editors, deleted the whole sentence.
[6] [illegible] ' εἰ added by Capps.
[8] [illegible] M.
[9] [illegible] W [illegible] κἀνά γε.
[10] Jacobs deleted [illegible] after τινὰ and ἄξιον after ἄξιον.

the second and third types which are derived from our poets and sang very the former exhorting us not to withhold our gratitude from that which is older and of the same blood bestowed being the author of life and being the latter using compulsion and the threat of punishment for those who refuse obedience, without however, making altogether clear and showing plain just who parents are and what the acts of kindness are for which they enjoin upon us not to leave unpaid a debt which is due. But to an even greater extent do we see this to be true in both particulars in their stories and myths about the gods.

Now I am well aware that to most men strict exactness in our exposition is an every occasion irksome, and that exactness in a speech is no less so for those whose sole interest is in mastery alone these without any preface whatever or any statements defining their subject matter rush without even beginning their speeches with any beginning but straight off with unwashen feet as the saying is proceed to expound things most obvious and naked to the sight. Now as for unwashen feet though they do a great harm when men must pass through mud and piles of refuse yet an ignorant tongue causes no little injury to an audience. However we may reasonably expect that the educated men of the audience of whom one ought to take some account will keep up with us and go through the task with us until we emerge from bypaths and rough ground as it were and get our argument back upon the straight road.

* For another form of this expression, which means 'unprepared,' see Lucian, *Pseudologista* 4 *ἀνιπτοις ποσι*.

44 Τριῶν δὴ προεκκειμένων[1] γενέσεων τῆς δαιμονίου παρ' ἀνθρώποις ὑπολήψεως, ἐμφύτου, ποιητικῆς, νομικῆς, τετάρτην φῶμεν τὴν πλαστικήν τε καὶ δημιουργικὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, λέγω δὲ γραφέων τε καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιῶν καὶ λιθοξόων καὶ παντὸς ἁπλῶς τοῦ καταξιώσαντος αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι μιμητὴν διὰ τέχνης τῆς δαιμονίας φύσεως, εἴτε σκιαγραφίᾳ μάλα ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀπατηλῇ πρὸς ὄψιν, εἴτε[2] χρωμάτων μίξει καὶ γραμμῆς ὅρῳ σχεδὸν τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περιλαμβάνουσης, εἴτε λίθων γλυφαῖς εἴτε ξοάνων ἐργασίαις, κατ' ὀλίγον τῆς τέχνης ἀφαιρούσης τὸ περιττόν, ἕως ἂν καταλίπῃ αὐτὰ τὸ[3] φαινόμενον εἶδος, εἴτε χωνείᾳ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὅσα τίμια διὰ πυρὸς ἐλαθέντων ἢ ῥυέντων ἐπί τινας τύπους, εἴτε κηροῦ πλάσει ῥᾷστα ξυνακολουθοῦντος τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ πλεῖστον ἐπιδεχομένου τὸ
45 τῆς μετανοίας· οἷος ἦν Φειδίας τε καὶ Ἀλκαμένης

[1] προεκκειμένων Arnim: προκειμένων.
[2] εἴτε added by Capps.
[3] αὐτὸ τὸ Emperius; τὸ αὐτοῖς.

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[1] See Strabo I. 3. 7–9, p. 19–20 for the enumeration of these four.

[2] Compare Plato, *Critias*, 107 c: "We use a rough sketch very dim and illusive": σκιαγραφίᾳ δὴ δοκεῖ καὶ ἀπατηλῷ χρώμεθα. Such rough sketches were used in scene-painting.

[3] Compare Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 2. 2. 48: "but when many things have been removed and the outlines of the features

Now that we have set before us three sources of [illegible] of the divine being to us, the [illegible] that derived from the poets and that derived from the sophists, let us name as the fourth that derived from the plastic art and the most advanced craftsmen who make statues and representations of the gods and mean painters and sculptors and masons who work in stone or in wood, or even those who have had learned enough to come forward as a portrayer of the divine nature through the use of art, whether it be by means of a rough sketch very [illegible] and deceptive to the eye, or by the blending of colours and by the drawing which produces a recent [illegible] by the carving of stone and by the craft which makes images of wood in which the artist [illegible] the excess of material until nothing remains but the shape which he discovers [illegible] by the casting of bronze and the [illegible] which are heated and have either bronze poured into them or [illegible] the pounding of wax, which most readily answers the artist's touch and affords the greatest opportunity for changes of direction.[1] To [illegible] Phidias but also Alcamenes[2] and Praxiteles[3] and

have been [illegible] that one can perceive that what has now [illegible]

[1] [illegible] of wax as a means [illegible] improvement of it.

[2] [illegible] and pupil of Phidias.

[3] [illegible] Phidias did in making those of gods.

καὶ Πολύκλειτος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀγλαοφῶν καὶ Πολύγνωτος καὶ Ζεῦξις καὶ πρότερος αὐτῶν ὁ Δαίδαλος. οὐ γὰρ ἀπεχρῆ τούτοις περὶ τἆλλα ἐπιδεικνυσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν δεινότητα καὶ σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν εἰκόνας καὶ διαθέσεις παντοδαπὰς ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἅμα τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ χορηγοῦντες τοῖς πόλεσι λαμβάνοντες, πολλῆς ἐνέπλησαν ὑπονοίας καὶ ποικίλης περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου, οὐ παντελῶς διαφερόμενοι τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ νομοθέταις, τὸ μὲν ὅπως μὴ δοκῶσι παράνομοι καὶ ταῖς ἐπικειμέναις ἐνέχωνται ζημίαις, τὸ δὲ ὁρῶντες προκατειλημμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν τὴν ἐκείνων
46 εἰδωλοποιίαν οὐκοῦν ἐβούλοντο φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπίθανοι καὶ ἀηδεῖς καινοποιοῦντες. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τοῖς μύθοις ἑπόμενοι καὶ συνηγορεῖν ἐπλάττον, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσέφερον, ἀντίτεχνοι καὶ ὁμότεχνοι τρόπον τινὰ γιγνόμενοι τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι δι' ἀκοῆς ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἀτέχνως καὶ αὐτοὶ δι' ὄψεως ἐξηγούμενοι τὰ θεῖα τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ ἀπειροτέροις θεαταῖς· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης, ὡς ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ χάριτι ποιούμενα τοῦ δαιμονίου.

47 Καὶ μὴν δίκα γε τῆς ἁπλῆς καὶ πρεσβυτάτης

[1] Father and teacher of Polygnotus. Famed as painter in first half of fifth century B.C.

[2] One of the most celebrated Greek painters. Came to Athens about 463 B.C.

[3] Fl. 424–380, celebrated Greek painter.

[4] Mythical personage, whose name means 'cunning craftsman.' Said to have been very skilled sculptor and mechanic. Made the wooden cow for Pasiphaë and the labyrinth to hold the Minotaur.

further Agesilaus[1] and Polycrates[2] and Zoeta[3] and [illegible] these Thessalians[4] Forthese men were not [illegible] [illegible] and said on [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] of gods they accused for their patrons [illegible] or [illegible] persons and the states where people [illegible] such an [illegible] and [illegible] conception of the divine and accordingly did not differ at [illegible] from the poets and law-givers, in the [illegible] case that they [illegible] not be considered violators of the laws and thus make themselves liable to the penalties imposed upon such and in the other case because they saw that they had been anticipated by the poets and that the poets [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] Consequently they preferred not to appear to the many as innovators and to be [illegible] and [illegible] innovations In most matters [illegible] they adhered to the myths and maintained agreement with them in the representations but in some few cases they contributed [illegible] ideas [illegible] in a sense the [illegible] as well [illegible] [illegible] of the poets since the [illegible] appealed to the ear alone, whereas it was simply through the eye[5] that they for their part interpreted the [illegible] attributes to their more numerous and less [illegible] spectators And as these influences [illegible] on that primary impulse as being [illegible] with the honouring of the divine [illegible] and winning his favor

And furthermore, quite apart from that simple

[1] Compare Stoics [illegible] 2 [illegible] 48 and [illegible] 37 of this Discourse.

[2] [illegible] also [illegible] 79 of this Discourse.

ἐννοίας περὶ θεῶν καὶ ξυγγενῶς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἅμα τῷ λογῳ φυομένης, πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις ἑρμηνεῦσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ποιητικῆς καὶ νομοθετικῆς καὶ δημιουργικῆς τέταρτον ἀνάγκη παραλαβεῖν, οὐδαμῇ ῥᾴθυμον οὐδὲ ἀπείρως ἡγούμενον ἔχειν ὑπερ αὐτῶν, λέγω δὴ[1] τὸν φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα, ἢ λόγῳ[2] ἐξηγητὴν καὶ προφήτην τῆς ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἀληθέστατον ὄντως καὶ τελειότατον.

48 Ἓν μὲν οὖν νομοθέτην εἴπωμεν τὶ νῦν εἰς εὐθυνας ἄγειν, ἄνδρα ἀπτηρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸν εὐθυνοντα· δέοι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ φείδεσθαι καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσχολίας. ὑπερ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἑκάστου γένους προχειρισάμενοι τὸν ἄκρον σκοπῶμεν, εἴ τινα ὠφέλειαν ἢ[3] καὶ βλάβην φανήσονται πεποιηκότες πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις, ὅπως τε ἔχουσιν ὁμολογίας ἢ τοῦ διαφέρεσθαι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τίς αὐτῶν ξυνέπεται τῷ ἀληθεῖ μαλιστα, τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ ἀδύλῳ γνώμῃ σύμφωνος ὤν. πάντες τοιγαροῦν οὗτοι ξυνᾴδουσιν, ὥσπερ ἑνὸς ἴχνους λαβόμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο σῳζοντες, οἱ μὲν σαφῶς, οἱ δὲ ἀδηλότερον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἴσως δέοιτο παραμυθίας ὁ[4] τῇ ἀληθείᾳ φιλόσοφος, εἰ πρὸς σύγκρισιν ἄγοιτο ποιηταῖς ἀγαλμάτων ἢ μέτρων, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ὄχλῳ πανηγύρεως ἐκείνοις φίλων δικαστῶν;

[1] δὴ Capps Bd.
[2] λόγῳ Venetian edition. λόγων.
[3] ἢ Wilamowitz vr.
[4] ὁ added by Reske.

and earliest motions of the soul, which develops in the heart of a man along with heavenly power,[1] in addition to those three interpreters and two here, the poets, the sweet [illegible] [illegible] we must take on a [illegible] who is by no means indifferent nor [illegible] himself unacquainted with the poets. I mean the philosopher! The one who by means of reason [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] nature most true [illegible] most perfect.

As to the [illegible] for the present to have [illegible] a statesman be and himself [illegible] to deal [illegible] to an accounting. [illegible] have considerations for [illegible] and for our [illegible] preoccupation.[2] But as for the rest, [illegible] the [illegible] of such [illegible] and [illegible] who [illegible] we be found to have done by their acts or words any good or harm to poets, and how they stand in agreement with each other or disagree from one another, and which one of them adheres to the [illegible] view, being in harmony with [illegible] and [illegible] view. Now in fact all these men speak with one voice, just as if they had taken the [illegible] and were keeping to it, some [illegible] and others [illegible] [illegible] the true philosopher, perhaps, not stand in need of [illegible] if he should be brought into comparison with the makers of [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] to be [illegible] of a national [illegible] where the judges are predisposed in their favour.[3]

[1] [illegible]

[2] See p. 18 f., note 4.

[3] [illegible] about many attractions in the people, and he knew that he must not lose them [illegible]

60 Εἰ γάρ τις Φειδίαν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐθύνοι, τὸν σοφὸν τοῦτον καὶ δι' μόνιον ἔργατην τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ παγκάλου δημιουργήματος, καθίσας δικαστὰς τοὺς βραβεύοντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ἀγῶνα, μᾶλλον δὲ κοινὸν δικαστήριον ξυμπάντων Πελοποννησίων, ἔτι δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἰώνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐ τῶν χρημάτων λόγον ἀπαιτῶν οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα δαπάνης, ὁπόσων χρυσὸς ὠνήθη ταλάντων καὶ ἐλέφας, ἔτι δὲ κυπάρττος καὶ θύον, πρὸς τὴν ἀυτὸς ἐργασίαν μόνιμος ὕλη καὶ ἀδιαφθορος,[1] τροφῆς τε καὶ μισθῶν ἀναλώματος[1] τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὐδὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄλλοις τε οὐ φαύλοις δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῦ πλείστου καὶ[2] τελεωτάτου μισθοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης Φειδίᾳ ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ Ἠλείοις προσήκοντα λογίσασθαι τοῖς ἀναλώσασιν ἀφθόνως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς,
80 ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου φήσομεν τῷ Φειδίᾳ προκεῖσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα εἰ οὖν δὴ λέγοι τις πρὸς αὐτὸν

Ὦ βέλτιστε καὶ ἄριστε τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὡς μὲν[3] ἡδὺ καὶ προσφιλὲς ὅραμα καὶ τέρψιν ἀμήχανον θεᾶς εἰργάσω πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὅσοι ποτὲ δεῦρο ἀφίκοντο πολλοὶ
61 πολλάκις, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἄλογον ἂν ἐκπλήξειε[4] τοῦτό γε τῶν ζῴων φύσιν,

[1] ἀντὶ ἐργασίαν μόνιμος ὕλη καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἀτείμα, ἐν τῇ ἐργασίᾳ μόνιμος ὕλη καὶ ἀδιάφθορος
[2] Geel restores the genit. ros for ἀνάλωμα and τοῦ πλείστου καὶ τελεωτάτου μισθοῦ of the MSS.
[3] ὡς μὲν Venetian edition ὡς μὲν οὖν
[4] ἄλογον ἂν ἐκπλήξαι Geel: ἂν ἄλογον ἐκπλήξαι.

Suppose, for instance, that someone were to take Pheidias first and question him before the tribunal of the Hellenes Pheidias, that wise and divinely-inspired creator of this awe-inspiring masterpiece of surpassing beauty, and should appoint as judges the men who are directing this contest in honour of the god, or better, a general court of all the Peloponnesians and of the Boeotians too, and Ionians and of the other Hellenes, wherever they are to be found in Asia as well as in Europe, and then suppose they should demand an accounting not of the moneys or of the sums spent on the statue, the number of talents paid for gold and ivory, and for cypress and ebony-wood, which are durable and indestructible timber for the interior work, or of the expenditure for the maintenance and wages of the workmen, who were not few in number and worked for so long a time, the wages not only of the men in general, who were no mean artisans, but of Pheidias also, to whom were the greatest and fairest reward on account of his artistic skill—of these items, I say, it was fitting that the Elians, who poured out the money so lavishly and magnificently, should have care for a reckoning, but as for us, we shall maintain that it is for something else that Pheidias must submit to trial. Suppose, then, that someone should actually say to him:

O best and noblest of artists, how charming and pleasing a spectacle you have wrought, and a vision of infinite delight for the benefit of all men, both Greeks and barbarians, who have ever come here, as they have come in great throngs and time after time, no one will grumble. For verily even the irrational brute creation would be so struck with awe if they

εἰ δύναιντο προσιδεῖν μόνοι, ταίρων τε τῶν ἀεὶ πρὸς τόνδε τον βωμὸν ἀγομένων, ὡς ἑκόντας ὑπεικειν[1] τοῖς καταρχομένοις, εἴ τινα παρέχοιεν τῷ θεῷ χαρν, ἔτι δὲ ἀστῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ λεόντων, ὡς τὸ ἀνήμερον καὶ ἄγριον σβεσαντας τοῦ θυμοῦ πολλὴν ἡσυχιαν ἄγειν, τερφθεντας[2] ὑπὸ τῆς θέας· ἀνθρωπων δέ, ὃς ἂν ἢ πω τελεῶς ἐπίπονος τὴν ψυχήν, πολλοὺς ἀνωτλήτους[3] συμφορας καὶ λυπας ἐν τῷ βίῳ μηδὲ ὕπνον ἡμῖν ἐπιβαλλόμενος,[4] καὶ ὃς δοκεῖ μοι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς εἰκόνος ἐκλελύσθαι ἂν[5] πάντων ὅσα εἰ ἀνθρωπινω
52 βίω δεινα καὶ χαλεπὰ γίγνεται παθεῖν· οὕτως σύγε ἀνεῦρες καὶ ἐμηχανήσω θεωμα, ἀτεχνῶς

νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθες ἁπάντων.

τοσοῦτον φῶς καὶ τοσαύτη χάρις ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν[6] αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡφαιστον εἶκος ἐγκαλέσαι τῶνδε τοῦ ἔργου, κρίνοντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν ἀνθρωπίνης ὄψεως

Εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ πρέπον εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν μορφὴν τῆς θεοῦ φύσεως ἐδημιουργήσας ὕλῃ τε ἐπιτηδεῖ χρησάμενος, ἀνδρὸς τε μορφὴν ὑπερφυῆ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μεγεθος δείξας, πλὴν τ'[7] ἀνδρὸς καὶ τἄλλα ποιήσας ὡς ἐποιησας, σκοπῶμεν τι νῦν ὑπὲρ

[1] ὑπείκειν Cobet: ἐπέχειν.
[2] τερφθεντες Graf: τερφθέντα.
[3] ἀνωτλήτους Dindorf: ἀκατάλυτον.
[4] Cappa conjectures μηδ' ἐν ὕπνῳ ἔθεν ἐπιλαθόμενος—"which even in sweet sleep he could never forget." Arnim, considering ἐπιβαλλόμενος, suggests ἐνε λαμβάνων.
[5] ἂν ἀν ἀν Fy Graf.
[6] ἂν P F omitted by other MSS.
[7] τ' added by Cappa. δὲ τέ δὲ Schwartz.

could catch merely a glimpse of yonder statue, [illegible] led to [illegible] so that they would [illegible] themselves to the priests who [illegible] [illegible], if so they would be [illegible] some pleasure to the god, but [illegible] and [illegible] so that they would [illegible] and preserve perfect quiet [illegible] by the [illegible] and of men, whereby [illegible] in the course of his [illegible] the cup of many [illegible] fortunes and griefs [illegible] even this man, methinks, if he stood before this image, would forget all the terrors and hardships [illegible] such a [illegible] did you devise and fashion, one in very truth a

> Charmer of grief and anger, that from men
> All the remembrance of their ills could lame.[1]

So great the radiance and so great the charm with which your art has endowed it, indeed it is not reasonable to suppose that even Hephaestus himself would [illegible] if he [illegible] it by the persuasive and bright which it affords the eyes of man.[2]

But on the other hand, was the shape you by your artistry produced appropriate to a god and was its form worthy of the [illegible] nature, when you not only used a material which gives delight but also presented a human form of extraordinary beauty and size, and apart from its being a marvel, made also all the other attributes as you have made them? That is the question which I invite you

[1] The statue of Zeus was within the temple where the bulls [illegible] [illegible] Book 6.

[2] Homer, *Iliad* 6. 221, translated by Macaulay.

ἂν ἀπολογησάμενος ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ
πείσας ὅτι τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἐξεύρει σχή-
ματός τε καὶ μορφῆς τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ
θεῷ, μισθὸν ἕτερον τοῦ παρ' Ἥλιον προσλαβοὶς
83 ἂν[1] μείζω καὶ τελειότερον· ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅτι οὐ
μικρὸς ἀγὼν οὐδ' ὁ κινδυνος ἡμῖν· πρότερον μὲν
γὰρ, ὅτε οὐδὲν σαφὲς εἰδότες, ἄλλην ἄλλος ἀν-
επλαττομεν ἰδέαν, πᾶν τὸ θεῖον[2] κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
δύναμιν καὶ φύσιν ἕκαστος ἰνδαλλόμενοι καὶ
ὀνειρώττοντες· εἴ τά που τινα μικρὰ καὶ ἄσημα συλ-
λεγόμεν[3] τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰκασμάτα τεχνιτῶν,
οὐ πάνυ τούτοις οὔτε πιστεύοντες οὔτε προσ-
εχοντες τὸν νοῦν· σὺ δέ γε ἰσχὺ τέχνης ἐπι-
κήσας καὶ ξυνήλλαξας[4] τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρώτον,
ἔπειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τῷδε τῷ φάσματι, θεσπέσιον
84 καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀποδείξας, ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἰδόντων
δόξαν ἑτέραν ἔτι λαβεῖν ῥᾴδιον. ὑφ' οὗ οἶδε
τὸν Ἴφικτον καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τοὺς τότε
Ἠλείους διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν τὸν μὲν ἀγῶνα
καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ποιῆσαι τῷ Διὶ πρέπουσαν, ἄγαλμα
δὲ μηδὲν ἐξεύρεῖν ἐν' ὀνόματι καὶ σχήματι τοῦ
θεοῦ, σχεδόν τι προίχοντας δυνάμει τῶν ὕστερον,
ἢ μᾶλλον φοβηθέντας μήποτε οὐ δυναιντο[5] ἱκανῶς

[1] ἂν added by Geel.
[2] θεῖον: ἀρρ. θεοῦ. Arnim deletes τὸν τὸ θεῖον and is followed by Nicole. Wilamowitz would substitute τοιοῦτον.
[3] συλλεγόμεν Coboon, συνεσέμεν Capps: συλλέγοντες.
[4] ξυνήλλαξας Emperius: ξυνέλεξεν.
[5] οὐ δύναιντο Schwartz: οὐκ ἔδυναντο UB: οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο P.

[1] See p. 28, note 1.

to consider now. And if you make a satisfactory defence on these matters before those present and you see them that you have formed the proper and fitting choice and [illegible] for the lowest and greatest goal, then you shall receive in addition a second reward, greater and more perfect than the one given by the Eleans. For you see that the power is [illegible] now the danger for us. Now in times past, however, we had no [illegible] knowledge, we [illegible] each [illegible] and each person, according to his [illegible] and nature, conceived a [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] such achievements, he [illegible] to purchase a [illegible] and [illegible] made by the earliest [illegible] and [illegible] them very much, we pay them very much attention. But now by the power of Zeus are first conceived and served Heroes and Gods, as others by means of this wonder presentment, showing forth so marvelous and divine a [illegible] that none of those who have [illegible] [illegible] Present [illegible]. Pray do you suppose that [illegible] of money, but [illegible] and [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible] the contest and [illegible] such were [illegible] worthy of Zeus, yet failed to search for and find a statue to bear the name and show the aspect of the god as he go they were, one might [illegible] say [illegible] in power to [illegible] dress [illegible]? Or was it rather because they feared that they would never be able adequately to portray

* The Olympic Games are said to have been renewed by a certain [illegible] after a long interruption. See Pausanias [illegible] Book V. 20.

* Said to have begun [illegible] to establish the Olympian Games, but according to Eusebius were far more ancient.

ἀπομιμήσασθαι διὰ θηητῆς τέχνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τελειοτάτην φύσιν,

86 Πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα τυχὸν εἴποι ἂν Φειδίας, ὅτι ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄγλωττος οὐδὲ ἀγλώττου πόλεως, ἔτι δὲ συνήθης καὶ ἑταῖρος Περικλέους·

Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν τῶν πώποτε μέγιστος· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ περὶ στρατηγίας μιᾶς πόλεως οὐδὲ περὶ νεῶν πλήθους ἢ πεζοῦ στρατοπέδου, πότερον ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ διώκηται, τὰ νῦν ὑπέχω λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ πάντων κρατοῦντος θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμοιώσεως,[1] εἴτε εὐσχημόνως καὶ προσοικείως γέγονεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλείπουσα τῆς δυνατῆς πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώπους ἀπεικάσαι, εἴτε ἀναξία καὶ ἀπρεπής.

87 Ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὑμῶν ἐγενόμην ἐξηγητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἀληθείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔφυν ἔτι[2] κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδέπω σαφῆ καὶ ἀραρότα δόγματα ἔχουσης περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέρας τροπόν τινα καὶ τὰ[3] περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἤδη πεπεισμένης καὶ νομιζούσης ἰσχυρῶς· καὶ ὅσα μὲν λιθόξοον ἔργα ἢ γραφέων ἀρχαιότερα τῆς ἐμῆς τέχνης σύμφωνα ἦσαν, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβείαν τῆς ποιήσεως, δὶς λέγων·

87 δόξας δὲ ὑμετέρας κατέλαβον παλαιὰς ἀκινήτους, αἷς οὐκ ἦν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνατόν, καὶ δημιουργοὺς

[1] ὁμοιότητος Arnim : ὁμοιότητος.
[2] ἔφυν ἔτι. Apogr. : ἔφην ἔτι.
[3] τὰ added by Schwartz.

be human art the Supreme and most Perfect Being?"

[illegible] answer to this Phrasias would say, since he was not [illegible] to be [illegible] and [illegible] was the same friend and [illegible] of Pericles.[1]

My [illegible] because he greatest that has ever arisen. [illegible] about [illegible] or the [illegible] of the [illegible] law or [illegible] [illegible] I am more being [illegible] concerning that god who [illegible] and my representation of him, which [illegible] made with due [illegible] the dignity of the god and [illegible] of [illegible] falling short of the [illegible] of the [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] that [illegible] I who was [illegible] first [illegible] the truth for I was not [illegible] when the [illegible] began to be and [illegible] had [illegible] about these matters [illegible] to speak and [illegible] strong beliefs and [illegible] about the gods. And all the [illegible] of [illegible] which I found to be [illegible] as far as the performance of the [illegible] concerned I [illegible] to [illegible] however I found to be [illegible] and to be changed [illegible] not [illegible] opinions [illegible] and I found other [illegible]

[1] The Athenians in contrast to the [illegible] Spartans appreciated [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] opinion [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] in Athens.

ἄλλους περὶ τὰ θεῖα, πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρους ἀξιοῦντας εἶναι, τοὺς ποιητάς, ἀκόντων μὲν διὰ δύναμιν εἰς νῶν ἐπιστοίαν ἄγειν διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως, τῶν δὲ ἡμετέρων αὐτουργημάτων μόνην ταύτην ἐπιτιθέντων ἀξίωσιν εἰκάσειν
20 τὰ γὰρ θεῖα φασιμάτα λέγω δὲ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ συμπάντου οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄστρων, αὐτὰ μὲν καθ' αὑτὰ φαινόμενα θαυμάτα πάντων· ἡ δὲ μίμησις αὐτῶν ἀπλῆ καὶ ἀτεχνῶς, εἴ τις εἴη καὶ τὰ σελήνης σχήματα ἀφομοιοῖ ἢ τὸν ἡλίου κύκλον· ἔτι δὲ ἥλιον καὶ δίπτυχας αὐτὰ μὲν ἑκάστου μέτρα πάντων,[1] ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰκάσμασι πολὺν ἐνδεικνύμενα τοῦ τόνου ὅθεν[2] ἴσως καὶ τὸ εἰ ἀρχὴν οὔπω[3] ἐνομίσθη τοῖς
30 Ἕλλησι· νοῦν γὰρ καὶ φρόνησιν αὐτὸν μὲν καθ' αὑτὸν οὔτε τὴν σελήνης οὔτε τὸν ἥλιον εἰκάσαι δυνατὸν ἔστιν· ἀδύνατοι γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀνιστόρητοι πάντελῶς πάντες· τὸ δὲ ἐν ᾧ τούτῳ γιγνόμενον ἔστιν οὐχ ὑποτοιόντες, ἀλλ' εἰδότες, ἐπ' αὐτὸ καταφεύγομεν, ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα ὡς[4] ἀγγεῖον φρονήσεως καὶ λόγου θεῷ προσαιτοῦντες, ἐνδεὲς καὶ ἀπορίας παραδείγματος τὸν φανὸν τε καὶ εἰκαστὸν τὸ ἀνεκφάστον καὶ ἀφανὲς ἐνδεικνύσθαι ζητοῦντες, σιμβόλοις δυνάμει χρώμενοι, κρείττον ἢ φασὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ζῶντες τὰ θεῖα ἀφομοιοῦν κατὰ σμικρὰς καὶ ἀτόσους ἀφορμάς· ἃ δὲ πλείστον ὑπερβάλλων

[1] πάντων Reeske: πάντων.
[2] ὅθεν Sekleu: εἶναι.
[3] οὔπω (ἀρχὴ) οὔπω.
[4] ὡς Jacobs: καὶ.

[1] He means Homer: cf. next note.

[2] i.e. sculpture could not compare with sculpture as to truthfulness [illegible] conception of the deity. He refers to Homer, cf. section 62 infra.

[illegible] of the divinity who were older than I and [illegible] so much more [illegible] for [illegible] poetry to [illegible] standard of [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

κάλλει καὶ σεμνότητι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, σχεδὸν οὕτως πολὺ κρατιστος δημιουργὸς τῶν περὶ τὰ
[illegible] θεῖα ἀγαλματων

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς βέλτιον ἐνῆργον ἢ τ' μηδὲν θρεμμα μηδὲ εἰκονα θεων ἀπεικαζεῖθαι παρ' ἀνθρωποις φαιη τις ἄν, ὡς προς μονι ὁρῶν δεον τα σώματα· ταῦτα μεν γαρ ξυμφαντα δ γε νοῦν ἔχων σεβοι, θεους ἡγουμενος μακαριους μακαριθν ὁρῶν· δια δε τον προς το δαιμονιον γνωμονα ἰσχυρος ἱρως πασιν ἀνθρωποις ἐγγιστα τιμαν καὶ θεραπευειν το θειον, πρωτιστος καὶ
61 ἀποφαινουν μετα πειθοῦς, θυοντας καὶ στεφανοῦντας· ἀτεχνως γαρ ὡσπερ κηποι παιδες πατρος ἢ μητρος ἀπεστερημενοι δεινον ἵμερον ἔχοντες καὶ πολυν ἀραγουσι χεῖρας οὐ παρ' ὧν πολλακις ἀνεπειρωντο, οὕτω καὶ θεῶν ἀνθρωποι ἀγαπωντες δικαιων διά τε ευεργεσιας καὶ συγγενειαν, προθυμουμενοι παντα τροπον συνειναι τε καὶ ὁμιλειν· ὡσπερ καὶ πολλοι των βαρβαρων πανυ τε καὶ ἀνορια τεχνης ὁρῃ θεους ἀποκαλουσι καὶ λιθους ἀργὰ καὶ ἀσημους λιθους, οὐδαμῇ ὁμοιωσαντες οἰκειοτερα την μορφην·

62 Εἰ δ' ἡμιν ἀναγκαιον ἐστι καὶ τοῦ σχηματος, οἷον ἂν φθάνοιτο Ὁμηρῳ προτερον χαλκεως ἔχοντες δεινος γαρ οὐ μονον μορφην ἐγγυτατα ταυτης·

[1] ἀνθρωπο δ Cappa ἀνθρω
[2] For [illegible] the manuscripts corrupted ἀρῶν.
[3] [illegible] Cappa θεῶν
[4] The [illegible] phrase [illegible] is a familiar Platonic idiom. Cf. Phaedr. [illegible] Theaet. [illegible] Phaed. 79 b. Jacoby, followed by von Arnim, wrongly [illegible].
[5] τὴν μορφὴν οὐδὲν τὴν μορφήν.
[6] ταυτης added by Cappa.

above others in respect of beauty and majesty and splendour[1] he, we may say, has been by far the greatest creator of the images of the divine beings.[2]

[illegible] that it had been better that no statue or picture of gods should have been established among men on the ground that we should [illegible] at the heavens. For [illegible] the intelligent man does not [illegible] reverence at base objects, bringing them to be [illegible] gods that he sees from a great distance, yet on account of our belief in the divinity [illegible] creating in us awe and [illegible] the deity from [illegible] at least approaching and [illegible] him with persuasion by offering sacrifices and [illegible] him with garlands. For [illegible] men who turn away from father or mother are [illegible] with [illegible] longing and desire and stretch out their hands to their absent parents after their decease so [illegible] men to the gods [illegible] them for their beneficence and kindness and being eager in every possible way to be with them and to [illegible] converse with them. Consequently many of the [illegible] because they lack artistic means and find difficulty in employing them, name mountains gods and unhewn trees too and unshapen stones, things which are by no means whatever more appropriate in shape than is the human form.

But if you find fault with me for the human figure, you should make haste to be angry with Homer first, for he not only represented a form most

[1] [illegible] of his conception of Zeus.
[2] He refers to Homer, cf. § 63 infra.

τῆς δημιουργίας ἐμιμήσατο, χαίτας τε ἀκηρέλιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι δὲ αἰθερίωνα αὐθις ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ποιήσεως, ὅτε φησὶν ἱκετεύειν τὴν Θέτιν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τοῦ παιδὸς πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀμίλλας τε καὶ βουλεύσεις[1] καὶ δημηγορίας[2] ἔνεμεν[3] τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι δὲ ἐξ Ἴδης ἀφίκεσε πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ Ὄλυμπον ὑπνοῦν τε καὶ σιωπᾶν καὶ μίξεις, μαλα μὲν ὑφηλὸς σίμβλοισι κατηείδε τὸν ἔπεσσι, ὅμως δὲ ἔχομεν θνητῆς ὀμοιότητα καὶ δή γε καὶ ἀνίστε ἐπιλήσεσι Ἀγαμέμνονα προσεικῶσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς κυριωτάτοις μέρεσιν εἴπεν.

ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἐείκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,

τὸ δέ γε τῆς ἐμῆς ἐργασίας οὐκ ἂν τις οἶδε μανείς
83 τὴν ἀφομοιώσειν οὐδενὶ ὕστερον[4] θνητῷ πρὸς κάλλος ἢ μέγεθος θεοῦ συνεξεπεζωμένῳ, ἔπου[5] γε εἰ μὴ Ὁμήρου πολὺ φασὶν κρείττων καὶ σοφώτερος ποιητής, τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἡμῶν ἰσοθεοῦ τὴν σοφίαν, ἣν βουλοίμεθ ἔχειν ἕτοιμος ὑπεχεῖν ἐγώ λέγω δὲ πρὸς τὸ δυνατὸν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ
84 τέχνης δαψιλὲς γὰρ χρῆμα ποιήσεις καὶ πάντα τρόπον εὔπορον καὶ αὐτοφυῶν, καὶ χορηγὲ γλωττῆς καὶ πλήθει ῥημάτων ἱκανὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντα δηλῶσαι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλήματα, κἂν ὁποιοσοῦν διανοηθῇ σχῆμα ἢ ἔργον ἢ πάθος

[1] βουλεύσεις Reiske: βουλεύσεσι.
[2] δημηγορίας Reiske: δημοσίας.
[3] ἔνεμεν: ἐν νεῖ by Capps: ἔνεν proposed as before νεῖ.
[4] ἤτον added by Capps, cf. Or. 23. 8: ἀνὴρ Γ's, ἀνὴρ other MSS.
[5] ἔπου Capps: ἀφ' οὗ.

[1] Homer, *Iliad* 1. 528, translated by the Earl of Derby.

nearly like the statue of mine by mentioning the flowing locks of the god and the [illegible] of a very beginning of his poem, when he says that Thetis made supplication [illegible] the bestowal of honour upon her son. [illegible] to this [illegible] is [illegible] to the gods meetings and [illegible] and hatings, then also journeyings from Ida to the heavens and Olympus, and also [illegible] and drinking beasts and lovely [illegible] everything is very fully portrayed, language and yet accompanying [illegible] to mental [illegible]. And in most striking instance of this is which he represented to us. Ages ago to the god in respect to the most distinctive features by saying

> His eye and brow he made the counterpart
> Of Zeus, the Lord of thunder.*

But as to the product of my workmanship nobody not even an insane person would [illegible] it to any mortal man, nor if it be carefully examined from the point of view of a god's beauty or stature, [illegible] if I [illegible] not be found to be a better and more terrible art than Homer, whom you thought god as to his [illegible]. I am willing to pay any fines you wish. But I am speaking with an eye to what is possible in my art. For an extravagant thing in poetry and in every respect remarkable and a law unto itself, and by the assistance of the tongue and a multitude of words is able to express all the designs of the heart, and whatever conception it may arrive at concerning any shape or action or emotion or magnitude, it can never be at a loss.

* i.e. too given to exaggeration than Homer was in his description of Agamemnon, cf. [illegible], 197.

ἢ μέγεθος, οὐκ ἂν ἀπαρήσειεν, Ἀγγέλου φωνῆς πάνυ ἐναργῶς σημαινούσης ἕκαστα·

στρεπτὴ γὰρ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ' ἔνι μῦθοι,

φησὶν Ὅμηρος αὐτός,

παντοῖοι, ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

65 κινδυνεύει γὰρ οὖν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος ἀπάντων ἀνδρεὰς γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ φωνῆς καὶ λέξεως· τούτου δὲ μόνου κέκτηται θαυμαστόν τινα πλοῦτον. οὐδέν γοῦν παραλέλοιπεν ἄφθεγκτον οὐδὲ ἄσημον τῶν πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἀφικνουμένων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπιβάλλει τῷ νοηθέντι σαφῆ σφραγῖδα ὀνόματος, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πλείονος φωνὰς ἑνὸς πράγματος, ὧν ὁπόταν φθέγξηταί τινα, παρέσχε δόξαν οὐ πολὺ ἀσθενεστέραν τἀληθοῦς. πλείστη μὲν οὖν ἐξουσία καὶ δύναμις ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ λόγον ἐνδείξα-
66 σθαι τὸ παραστάν· ἡ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν τέχνη μάλα αὐθάδης καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος, ἄλλως τε Ὁμήρου, τοῦ πλείστην ἄγοντος παρρησίαν, ὃς οὐχ ἕνα εἵλετο χαρακτῆρα λέξεως, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν διῃρημένην τέως ἀνέμιξε, Δωριέων τε καὶ Ἰώνων, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων, εἰς ταὐτὸ κεράσας πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρώματα οἱ βαφεῖς,

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[1] What Greek tragedy could not depict by action it could describe in detail through a Messenger.

since the voice of a Messenger[1] can discourse with perfect clearness each and all these things. For, as Homer himself says:

> For godlike runs the tongue, and can at will
> Give utterance to discourse in every vein.
> Wide is the range of language, and such words
> As one may speak, another may return.[2]

Indeed, the race of men is more likely to run short of everything else than of voice and speech, of this no thing it possesses a most astounding wealth. At any rate, it has left unuttered and undesignated no single thing that reaches our sense perceptions; for it always puts upon every thing the mind perceives the unmistakable stamp of a name, and often even sets a name for one thing so that when it gives utterance to any one of them, this conveys an impression not much less distinct than does the actual thing itself. Very great, indeed, is the ability and power of man to express in words any idea that comes into his mind. But the poetic art is exceeding wicked and not to be censured, however, this was especially true of Homer, who practiced the greatest frankness and freedom of language, and he did not choose just one variety of diction, but mingled together every Hellenic dialect which before his time were separate, that of the Ionians and Doians, and also that of the Athenians[3]—mixing them together much more thoroughly than dyers do their colours, and not

[1] Homer, *Iliad* 10. 246-248, translated by the Earl of Derby.

[2] Compare Dinarchus II. 23, where the Aeolic dialect also is mentioned. See also Aristotle's *Poetics* 1461 a.

οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἴ που τι ῥῆμα ἐκλελοιπὸς, καὶ τοῦτο ἀνειλήφει ὅ τι περ νομίσμα τι χιῶν ἐκ θησαυροῦ πολλὴν
67 ἀφειδοῦσα διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν,[1] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ βαρβάρων ὀνόματα, φαιδρύνουσα κάλλους ὅ τι μόνον πόσον ἢ σφοδρότητα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ῥῆμα ἔχειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μετέφερεν οὐ τὰ γειτνιῶντα μόνον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγύθεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντα, ὅπως κηλοῖτο τὸν ἀκροατὴν μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀπαγωγοῦσα, καὶ οὐδὲν τοῦτο κοινὴ χώρα κἂν ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν μηδίσωσι, τὰ δὲ ἀπαιρῶν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλων[2] παρατιθεῖσα·
68 Ἐλέγετο δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπεφαίνετο οὐ μόνον μέτρων ποιητὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων, παρ' αὐτοῦ φθεγγομένου, τὰ μὲν ἁπλῶς τιθέμενα ἀπόμματα τοῖς φρονήμασι, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀ ο ις ἐπιτιμῶν, οἷον σφραγῖδα σφραγῖδι ἐπιβάλλων ἀνίργη καὶ μηλίνον εὐόπλον, οὐδενὸς φθόγγου ἀπεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἅμβραχυ[3] ποταμῶν τε μεμιγμένης φωνὴς καὶ ὕλης καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ πυρὸς καὶ θαλάττης, ἔτι δὲ χαλκοῦ καὶ λίθου καὶ ξυμπάντων ἄπλως ζώων καὶ ὀργάνων, τοῦτο μὲν θηρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο δὲ αὐλῶν τε καὶ συρίγγων κανάχας τε καὶ βόμβους καὶ κτύπους καὶ θυίπους καὶ ἄραβον πρωτίστ' ἐξεύρων[4] καὶ ὀνομάσας ποταμοὺς τε μορμυρόντας καὶ βέλη κλείζοντα καὶ βροντὰ κύματα καὶ χαλεπαίνοντας ἀνέμους καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα δεινὰ καὶ ἄτοπα τῷ ὄντι θαύματα, πολλὴν ἐμβάλλοντα τῇ γνώμῃ ταραχὴν καὶ

[1] φιλοχρηματίαν Cod. φιλοχρηματίαν.
[2] Cod. ἀπαιρῶν ἄλλων for ἄλλων.

only the languages of his own day but also those of

[illegible]

[illegible]

69 θόρυβον· ὥστε οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ἀπορία φθειρῶν[1] ὀνομάτων καὶ ἡδέων, ἔτι δὲ λείων καὶ τραχέων καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐχόντων διαφορὰς ἔν τε τοῖς ἤχοις καὶ τοῖς διανοήμασιν· ἐφ' ἧς ἐποιοῦν διανοίας ἦν ὁποῖον ἐβούλετο ἐμποιῆσαι τῇ ψυχῇ πάθος.

Τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον αὖ γένος, τὸ χειροπαστικὸν καὶ δημιουργικόν, οὐδαμῇ ἐφικνεῖται τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλευθερίας· ἀλλὰ πρώτοι μὲν ἕλης προσδεόμεθα, ἀσφαλοῦς μὲν ὥστε δεχεσθαι, οἱ πολὺν δὲ ἐχούσης κόπτειν τε καὶ ῥηδίας, 70 ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἀλίγων συνεργῶν· πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις ἓν σχῆμα ἑκάστης εἰκόνος ἀναγκῇ εἰργάσθαι,[2] καὶ τοῦτο ἀκίνητον καὶ μόνον, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ξυλλαβεῖν φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν. τοῖς δὲ ποιηταῖς πολλάς τινας μορφὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰ εἴδη[3] περιλαβεῖν τῇ ποιήσει ῥᾴδιον, κινήσεις τε καὶ ἡσυχίας προστιθέντας αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἂν ἑκάστοτε πράττειν ἡγῶνται καὶ ἔργα καὶ λόγους, καὶ πρόσεστιν,[4] οἶμαι τὸ τῆς χαλεπότητος[5] καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου· μιᾷ γὰρ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ ὁρμῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεχθεὶς ὁ ποιητὴς πολύ τι πλῆθος ἐπῶν ἤρυσεν,[6] ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς

[1] φθειρῶν Reiske: φανερῶν.
[2] εἰργάσθαι Wilamowitz.
[3] παντοδαπὰ εἴδη Casaubon: παντοδαπὰς ἐπαφὰς or παντοδαπὰς.
[4] πρόσεστι Capps with P: πρόσεστι.
[5] χαλεπότητος Capps, cf. Plato, *Ion*, 107 c: ἐπάνω.
[6] ἄπων ἤρυσεν Selden: ἐπήρυσεν.

[1] It was easy to find hard marble whose grain was coarse so that it resisted the chisel and was unable to chip, but it was not

he had no lack of fear-inspiring names for things and of [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ὕδατος ὑπερβλύσαντος, πρὶν ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διαρρυῆναι τὸ φάντασμα καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἣν ἔλαβε· τὸ δέ γε ἡμέτερον τῆς τέχνης ἐπίπονον καὶ βραδύ, μόλις καὶ κατ'[1] ἄλγος προβαῖνον, ἅτε οἶμαι, πετρῶδες καὶ στερεὰ κάμνον ὕλῃ.

71 Τὸ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ἀναγκῃ παραμένειν τῷ δημιουργῷ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰεί, μέχρις ἂν ἐκτελέσῃ τὸ ἔργον, πολλάκις καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι· καὶ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ὡς ἔστιν ἀκοῆς πιστότερα ὄμματα, ἀληθὲς ἴσως· πολὺ γε μὴν διαπιστότερον[2] καὶ πλείονος δεόμενα ἐναργείας[3]· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὄψις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁρωμένοις συμβάλλει, τὴν δὲ ἀκοὴν οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἀπατηθῆναι καὶ παραλογίσασθαι, μιμήματα[4] εἰσπεμπόντα γεγαν-

72 τευμένα μέτροις καὶ ἤχοις· καὶ μὴν τά γε ἡμέτερα τῆς τέχνης ἀναγκαῖα μέτρα πλήθους τε περὶ καὶ μεγέθους· τοῖς δὲ ποιητοῖς ἔξεστι καὶ ταῦτα ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν αὐξῆσαι. τοιγαροῦν Ἡμέρᾳ μὲν ῥᾴδιον ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ἴριδος, ὅτι

οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει

ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀγαπητὸν δήπουθεν πληρῶσαι τὸν ὑπὸ Ἠλείων ἢ Ἀθηναίων ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον.

73 Σὺ μὲν οὖν φήσεις, ὦ συφωτατε τῶν ποιητῶν Ὅμηρε, πολὺ τῇ τε δυνάμει τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ

[1] κατ' added by Reiske.
[2] διαπιστότερα Jacobs: διαπιστότερον.
[3] ἐναργείας Reiske: ἐνεργείας.
[4] μιμήματα Wilamowitz: μὴ ῥήματα.

[1] Compare Cicero, *Orator* 2. 8, where in speaking of Phidias he says, "In his mind resided a most splendid concept of

of water before the waves and the currents he had grasped [illegible] and flow away. But of our [illegible] the [illegible] advancing [illegible] a step at a time, the reason being, no doubt, that it must work with a rock-like and hard material.

But the most difficult thing of all is that the orator must keep [illegible] every single image in his mind [illegible] to flow as he wishes, which often takes many years. Indeed, the popular saying [illegible] he [illegible] are more [illegible] than the years is perhaps true [illegible] are much harder [illegible] and demand much greater [illegible] for [illegible] the [illegible] which [illegible] to create and [illegible] under the spell of [illegible] and sound.* [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the poets have the power [illegible] increase even these elements to [illegible] [illegible] enough for [illegible] to give the sense of [illegible] saying,

[illegible] bumble-wort at first [illegible] her head,
[illegible] yet the [illegible] on earth affects the skies.*

But [illegible] must be content. I suppose [illegible] to fill up the space [illegible]

Those [illegible] will agree [illegible] of poets, who [illegible] in the power of the poetry and in [illegible] and saying [illegible]

* [illegible]
* [illegible] with [illegible] by the dust of [illegible]

τῷ χρόνῳ προέχων, σχεδὸν πρώτος ἐπιδείξας[1] τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἁπάντων θεῶν καὶ δὴ τοῦ μεγίστου θεῶν πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς εἰκόνας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἡμέρους τοῖς δὲ φοβερὰς καὶ δεινάς.
74 ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος εὐρηκὼς καὶ παντάχοῦ πρῶτος, οἷος ἀστασιάστου καὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιστάτης, ὃν ἔγω μετὰ τῆς ἀμίαντου τεχνῆς καὶ τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς βουλευσαμένης ἱδρυσάμην, ἥμερον καὶ πρᾶον ἐν αὐλίῳ σχήματι, τὸν[2] βίον καὶ ζωῆς καὶ ξυμπάντων δοτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Πατέρα καὶ Σωτῆρα καὶ Φύλακα, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν θνητῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀμίγητον φύσιν.
75 Σκοπεῖ δὲ, εἰ μὴ πᾶσαις ταῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ πρεπούσαν εὑρήσεις τὴν εἰκόνα. Ἕνα γὰρ μόνον θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ Βασιλέα ἐπονομάζεται, Πολιέα τε καὶ Φίλιον καὶ Ἑταιρεῖον, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς[3] Ἰάσιόν τε καὶ Ξένιον καὶ Ἐπικάρπιον καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις ἔχων πᾶσας ἀγαθάς, Βασιλέα μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν ὠνομασμένος Πατέρα δὲ οἶμαι διά τε τὴν[4] εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ πρᾶον, Πολιέα δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν δίκαιον, Ὁμόγνιον δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους
76 κοινωνίαν θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, Φίλιον δὲ καὶ Ἑταιρεῖον, ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ

[1] ἐπιδείξας Rowan, ἐπιδείξω Geel; ἐπιδείξας or ἐπιδείξω.
[2] τὸν R; [illegible] or τοῦ.
[3] αὐτοῖς Emperius; αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῦς.
[4] τὴν added by Geel.

[1] See for example, *Hand* 2. 260–264.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμιον οὐδένα οὐδενός. Ἱκέσιος δέ, ὡς ἂν ἱκετικός τε καὶ θεὸς τοῖς δεομένοις, Φυξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφυξιν, Ξένιος δέ, ὅτι δεῖ μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἄλλοτριον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπων μηδένα, Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος, ἅτε τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος καὶ δοτὴρ πλούτου καὶ δυνάμεως.

77 Ὅσον δέ[1] ἦν ἐπιδείξαι ταῦτα μὴ φθεγγόμενον, ἆρα οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἔχει κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα βούλεται δηλοῦν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ εἴδους καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές· τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ τὴν κηδεμονίαν τοῦ πρεῖν καὶ προσφιλές· τὸν δὲ Πολιέα καὶ Νόμιον ἥ τε σεμνότης καὶ τὸ αὐστηρόν· τὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν ξυγγένειαν αὐτό φησι τὸ τῆς μορφῆς ὅμοιον ὂν ἤδη σύμβολον[2]· τὸν δὲ Φύλιον καὶ Ἱκέσιον καὶ Ξένιον καὶ Φυξιον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἁπλῶς ἡ[3] φιλανθρωπία καὶ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν ἐμφαινόμενον· προσομοιοῖ δὲ τὸν Κτήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἐπικάρπιον ἥ τε ἁπλότης καὶ ἡ μεγαλοφροσύνη, δηλουμένη διὰ τῆς μορφῆς· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ διδόντι καὶ χαριζομένῳ μάλιστα προσέοικε τἀγαθά.

78 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν ἐμιμησάμην, ἅτε οὐκ ἔχων ὀνομάσαι· συνεχῶς δὲ ἀστράπτοντα ἐπὶ πολέμῳ καὶ φθορᾷ πλήθους ἢ ἐν[4] ὄμβρων

[1] δεῖν Cobet, ἔστιν δὲ Reiske: ἔστιν δὲ or ἐν οὐδὲν.
[2] ὂν ἤδη σύμβολον Capps: συνεστῶτα δὲ σύμβολον conjectured by Arnim: ἐν εἴδει σύμβολον.
[3] ἡ added by Jacobs.
[4] ἐν' added by Capps.

and with that they be friends of one another and never [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ἀστραβολῇ[1] ἢ γαλαζῃ ἢ γιάνοι, ἢ ταυτόματα κινοῦν ἔρον, τοῦ πολέμου ξυμβόλοι, ἢ ἀστρα πεμπουσα ξιφοχεῖς σκυθρωπὸς ἀνθιβάλλοντα, δεινὸν τέρας ναυταις ἢ στρατιωταις[2] ἢ[3] ἐπιπεμπουσα ἔρον αρχαλεον Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὥστε[4] ἔρωτα ἀμβαλλειν[5] πολέμου καὶ μαχης ἄπαυστον καμνοντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀκαιρήσοντας· οὐδὲ γε ἰστασα ἐπι πλαστιγγος ἀνθρωπινα ἡμιθέων ἥρως ἢ στρατοπέδων ὅλων αὐτομάτου ῥοπῇ κρατουσης· οὐδ' ἢ δια τῆς τεχνης μιμεῖσθαι· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πυρινον πυελινον γ' ἂν ποτε βροντῆς γαρ εἴδωλον ἔφθογγον ἢ ἀστραπῆς ἢ κεραυνοῦ εἴκασμα ἀλιμενος ἐκ τῶν τόδε γ' ἐνοχλοῦσα[6] μεταλλωμενων ποῖον ἄν τι καὶ γένοιτο, ἐπι δὲ γῆν σεισμοῦ καὶ κινουμενον Ὀλυμπον ἐνὸ νευμασι βραχεῖ τῶν ὀφρυων ἢ τινα κρουσον περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στεφανον

[1] ἀστραβολῇ PY, ἀστραβολὴν other MSS.
[2] στρατιωτικοις Gasl., στρατιωτῃ.
[3] ἢ added by Gasl.
[4] ὥστε added by Arnim.
[5] ἀμβαλλειν Ar. m., ἀμβαλλειν.
[6] γ' ἐνοχλοῦσα Cappa, cf. Hdn. 4. 2[illegible], ἐνοχλοῦσα.

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[1] See vol. 10. 5–8. "Even as when the girl of fair-tressed Hera lightens fashioning rather heavy rain unceasing, or [illegible] when the Zeus strikes the fierce, or fashioning perhaps the wide mouth of bitter war

> αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἐν δεξιτερῇ τάνυε Ἥρης ἀγλαοπεπλου,
> νεφεων ἐξ ἀνεμου βριθυν ἀθροιζοντα τε μαλακῶς
> ἢ κρατερὸν ἐν οἷσι τε μουνοῦσι κρυερὸν ἀμφὶ μεγαλῳ
> ἢ ὅ γε τοὶ τεκμαιρομενος μεγα πόλεμον ἐγειρεσκεν.

[2] Compare Iliad 17. 547–548: "Like as Zeus spreadeth the bright rainbow from heaven for mortals to be a portent either of war or else of unkindly weather:"

> ἠΰτε τοξοκορον Ἰρις ἐπουρανιον τανυσσῃ
> Ζευς ἐξ νεφεων τέρας ἀνθρωποισι φανεισα ἢ πολεμοιο
> ἢ καὶ χειμωνος δυσκαματοιο, κ.τ.λ.

power of rain or of hail or of snow[1] or who stretches the dark bow across the sky, the sign of war[2] or who sends a shooting star which hurls forth a stream of sparks, a dread portent to sailors or soldiers[3] or who sends pestilence upon the land and barbarians so as to repel and [illegible] them with unceasing zeal for war and battle[4] and the girl who [illegible] to the heavens the [illegible] of goddess-like men or of whom appears to be descended [illegible] Spartan [illegible] the girl I say, it was not possible to [illegible] nor yet assuredly should I even have desired to do so even had it been possible. For of thunder what [illegible] I should [illegible] image or of lightning and of [illegible] which [illegible] of a human [illegible] without the [illegible] flash[5] could by any possibility be made from the metals taken from the mines or [illegible] of this sort at least[6]? Then when the earth was shaken and the [illegible] was moved by a sight incantation of the cyclops, or a crown of cloud was about his head, it was easy enough for

[1] Compare *Iliad* 4. 79–77. [2] Just as the one of Crocus of [illegible] [illegible] a star a right portent either for [illegible] a broad host of the people and many sparks stream from it[3]—

> *ἠέ τ' ἀνέρος ἔκ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ δεξιὰ νύσσῃ*
> *ἄστρον ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν ἠὲ τ' ἐν νυκτὶ μέλαινα [illegible]*

[3] See *Iliad* 1. [illegible] And Zeus sent forth grievous strife to the ships of the Achaeans, holding a portent of war in his hands

> *Ζεὺς δ' Ἴριδα πρόαλιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀντιβολήσαι*
> *ἀγχίστοιν, κεκαλεῦσ' ὅτ' ἄρ' ἔμμεν ἔπος ἐνέποιεν.*

[4] See *Iliad* 23. 210–213.
[5] See *Iliad* 8. 69–71
[6] Referring to the silver mines at Laurium.

Ὁμήρῳ μὲν εἰπεῖν εὐμαρὲς καὶ πολλὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἅπαντα ἐλευθερία, τῇ δέ γε ἡμετέρᾳ τέχνῃ παντελῶς ἄπορον, ἐγγύθεν παρεχούσῃ[1] καὶ σαφῆ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς ὄψεως.

80 Εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ τῆς ὕλης ἀσημότερον ἡγεῖταί τις ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ταῦτο μὲν ἀληθές τε καὶ ὀρθόν· ἀλλ' οὔτε τοὺς ὄντας οὔτε[2] τὸν ἑλόμενον καὶ δοκιμάσαντα ἐν δίκῃ μέμφοιτ' ἄν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἑτέρα φύσις ἀμείνων οὐδὲ λαμπροτέρα πρὸς ὄψιν, ἣν δυνατὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἐνθμώπων

81 ἀφικέσθαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν δημιουργίας. ἀέρα γε[3] καὶ πῦρ ἐργάσασθαι ἢ τὴν ἄφθονον πηγὴν ὕδατος ἔνεστι[4] τίσι θνητῶν[5] ὀργάνοις; ὅσον δ'[6] ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις στερεὸν ἕρμα[7] εἴρηται,[8] λέγω δὲ οὐ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ σμικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βαρεῖαν οὐσίαν· ἰδέαν γε ἑκάστην[9] διακρίνοντα καὶ ἐμπλέκοντα εἰς ταὐτὸ ἕκαστον συστῆσαι[10] γένος καὶ ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν, οὐδὲ θεοῖς πᾶσι δυνατὸν ἀλλ'[11] ἢ μόνῳ

[1] παρεχούσῃ Capps: ἐχούσῃ.
[2] οὔτε Dindorf: οὐδέ.
[3] γε Capps: τε καί.
[4] ἔνεστι Capps: ἐν.
[5] θνητῶν Capps: θνητοῖς.
[6] δ' Capps: τε.
[7] ἕρμα Morel: ἔργμα.
[8] εἴρηται added by Capps.
[9] ἰδέαν γε ἑκάστην Capps: ἰδέα τε ἕκαστον.
[10] ἕκαστον συστῆσαι added by Capps as giving the required sense.
[11] ἀλλ' added by Capps.

Homer to describe them, and great was the freedom he enjoyed for all such things, but for our art it is absolutely impossible, for it permits the observer to test it with his eyes from close at hand and in full view.[1]

But if, again, anyone thinks that the material used is too lacking in distinction to be in keeping with the god, his belief is true and correct. But neither those who furnished it, nor the man who selected and approved it, has he any right to criticise. For there was no other substance better or more resplendent to the sight that could have come into the hands of man and have received artistic treatment. To work in air, at any rate, or fire, or the copious source of water,[2] what tools possessed by mortal men can do that? These can work upon nothing but whatever hard resistant substance is held bound within all these elements.[3] I do not mean gold or silver, for these are trivial and worthless things, but the essential substance, tough, all through and heavy, and to select each kind of material and entwining them together to compose every species, both of animals and of plants—this is a thing which is impossible for even the gods, all except this God alone, one may almost say, whom

[1] See Pliny, *Natural History* 35. 36. [2] Apelles also painted things that cannot be painted, shape of thunder, heat, lightning, flashing, whirling, which they the Greeks call bronte, astrape, and cerauno-eidos. Pliny: Apelles et quae pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgetra, fulgura, quae brontam, astrapen, ceraunoeidos appellant.

[3] That is, the ocean, 14. 246. The phrase seems to be taken from a lyric poet.

[4] For pedon, *Hiero*, 164 for the phrase ἄφθιτον ἐνεργεῖν.

τούτῳ σχεδὸν ὃν πάνυ καλῶς ποιητὴς προσεῖπεν ἕτερος,

Δωδωναῖε μεγασθενὲς ἀριστοτέχνα πάτερ

83 οὗτος γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος καὶ τελειοτατος δημιουργός, χορηγὰν λιβίων τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης οὐ τὴν Ἠλείων φάλαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πασαν τοῦ παντος ὕλην. Φειδίαν δὲ ἢ Πολυκλειτον οὐκ ἂν εἰκοτως ἐπαιτοῖτο πλεον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μείζω καὶ σεμνότερα τῆς ἡμετερας χειροτεχνίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν
83 Ἥφαιστον Ὅμηρος ἐν ἄλλοις πεποιηκεν ἐπιδεικνυμενον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἀλλὰ τεχνίτην μὲν θεὸν εὔπορησεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἔργον, ὕλην δὲ ἑτέραν οὐκ ἐφίκετο εὑρεῖν· φησὶ γὰρ οὕτω

χαλκὸν δ' ἐν πυρὶ βαλλεν ἀτειρέα κασσίτερόν τε
καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα καὶ ἄργυρον·

ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ παραχωρήσαιμ' ἂν[1] κρειττονα ἐμοῦ ποτε γενεσθαι περὶ τὴν τέχνην, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Διί, δημιουργοῦντι τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον οὐ χρὴ ξυμβαλλειν οὐδενα θνητον.

84 Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰποντα καὶ ἀπολογησαμενον τὸν Φειδίαν εἰκοτως ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες στεφανῶσαι ἄν.

Ὅσων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς λέληθεν ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ὧν γεγονε, καὶ μαλα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, φιλοσοφους τε ἁρμοττων καὶ πλήθει ἀκούσαι, περί τε ἀγαλμάτων ἱδρύσεως, ὅπως δεῖ ἱδρῦσθαι, καὶ περὶ

[1] παραχωρήσαιμ' ἂν Pingh παραχωρήσαιμι.

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[1] Pindar fr. 87 (Bergk).

another poet[1] quite beautifully has addressed as follows:

> Lord of Dodona,[2] father almighty, consummate artist.

For he is indeed the first and most perfect artificer, who has taken as his road-way not the way of Eris but the entire material of the entire universe. But of a Phidias or of a Polycleitus you could not reasonably demand more than they have done, say even when they reserved a too great and august for our hand-work. Indeed, not even Hephaestus did Homer represent as showing his skill in other matters alone but when he furnished a god as the craftsman for the making of the shield, he did not succeed in finding any different sort of material for it. For he speaks as follows:

> The stubborn brass and tin, and precious gold,
> And silver, first he melted in the fire.[3]

Nay, I will not concede to any man that there ever has been a better sculptor than I, but to *Zeus*, who fashioned the whole universe, it is not right to compare any mortal.

So if Phidias had said these things in his defence, I believe that the assembled Hellenes would have been justified in conferring a crown upon him.

But perhaps the majority of my hearers have failed to notice the several topics of my address, although, in my opinion, it has been quite as suitable for the multitude as for the philosopher to hear. It has dealt with the dedication of statues, how it should

[1] Dodona, situated in Epeiros. Here ancient seats of Oracles and dedicated to Zeus.

[2] Homer, *Iliad* 18. 474-475, translated by the Earl of Derby.

ποιητῶν, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον διανοοῦνται περὶ τῶν θείων, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῆς[1] πρώτης ἐπινοίας θεοῦ, ποία τις καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. πολλὰ δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρρήθη τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς[2] ἐπωνυμίας εἰ δὲ μετ' εὐφημίας τοῦ τε ἀγάλματος καὶ τῶν
85 ἱδρυσαμένων, πολὺ ἄμεινον· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν προσορᾶν ἔοικε, πάνυ εὔνους καὶ κηδόμενος, ὥστ' ἄμοιγε μικροῦ φθέγγεσθαι δοκεῖ.

Τάδε μὲν οὕτως. Ἠλεῖοί τε[3] καὶ σύμπασι Ἑλλάς, καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ἐπιτελεῖν,[4] θυσίας τε θύουσα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν εὐκλεέστατον ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσα ὡς[5] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εὐεξίας καὶ ῥώμης καὶ τάχους, ὅσα τε ἑορτῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ἔθη λαβοῦσα διαφυλάττεις. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνο φροντίζων σκοπῶ, ὅτι

αὐτήν σ'[6] οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἅμα γῆρας
λυγρὸν ἔχεις αὐχμεῖς τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἕσσαι.

[1] τῆς Reiske: τε.
[2] τε Capps: δέ. Arnim reads ὦ σύμπασα, deleting Ἠλεῖοί δέ καί.
[3] καὶ τῆς Capps: κατὰ τάς.
[4] ἐπιτελεῖς Arnim: ἐπιτελεῖ.
[5] ὡς added by Wilamowitz.
[6] σ' MSS. of Odyssey: γε.

best be done, and with the poets, as to whether their conceptions of the gods are better or inferior, and also with the first conception of God, what it was and how it came into existence among men. And much too, I believe, was said about the power of Zeus and about his titles. If this was accompanied by a eulogy of the statue and of those who dedicated it, so much the better. For in reality the god now seems to us to have such an expression, altogether benevolent and solicitous, that I at least can almost fancy that he is speaking like this:

"All this rite, you Eleans and all Hellas, you are carrying out, as one may see, very beautifully and fittingly, by offering sacrifices of a magnificence in keeping with your means, and, above all, by holding as from the beginning this most renowned contest of physical condition, strength, and speed, and lastly, because you are preserving in regard to festive occasions and secret rites all the customs which you have inherited. But with deep concern I observe that

Yourself untended seem, and wretched age
With mean attire and squalor is your lot."[1]

[1] Homer, *Odyssey* 24. 249–250, translated by Mackail.

THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS, ABOUT HIS BANISHMENT

[illegible]

has been lost.

13. ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ

1 Ὅτε φεύγειν συνέβη με φιλίας ἕνεκεν λεγομένης ἀνδρὸς οὐ ποιηρσῦ, τῶν δὲ τότε εὐδαιμόνων τε καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐγγύπτατα ὄντος, διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἀποθανόντος, δι' ἃ πολλοῖς καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει μακάριος, δια τὴν ἐκείνου οἰκειότητα καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ταύτης ἀνεχθείσης ἐπ' ἐμὲ τῆς αἰτίας, ὡς δὴ τάνδρὶ φίλον ὄντα καὶ σύμβουλον· ἔθος γάρ τι τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν τυράννων, ὥσπερ ἐν Σκύθαις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συνθάπτειν οἰνοχόους καὶ μαγειρους καὶ παλλακάς, οὕτως τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἑτέρους προστιθέναι πλείους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς
2 αἰτιας· τότε δ' οὖν, ἐπεί με φεύγειν ἔδοξεν, ἐσκόπουν πότερον ὄντως χαλεπόν τι καὶ δυστυχὲς εἴη τὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὡς[1] κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, ἢ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἕτερόν τι[2] πέπονθεν, ὁποῖον λεγόμενόν ἐστι περὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ βῶλόν[3] τινα ἢ λίθον αἱρουσαι σκοποῦσιν ἐν τούτῳ περὶ ταῦ πράγματος οὗ πυνθάνονται. καὶ δὴ ταῖς μὲν αὐτῶν φασι

[1] ὡς added by Cobet. [2] τι added by Capps.
[3] βῶλον Valesius βωμόν.

THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS, ABOUT HIS BANISHMENT

When it fell to my lot to be exiled on account of my [illegible] with a man [illegible] of good character and very closely connected with those who at that time were [illegible] famous and [illegible] high [illegible] as a man [illegible] on account of the very things which made him seem fortunate to many men, and [illegible] to practice [illegible] I mean [illegible] by marriage and [illegible] those offices, the charge brought against me being that I was that man's friend and [illegible] just as among the Scythians it is the practice to bury [illegible] and [illegible] and concubines with their kings, so it is the custom of [illegible] to throw in several others for no reason whatever with those who are being executed by them, so at the time when my banishment was decreed I began to consider whether the matter of banishment was really a grievous thing and a misfortune, and whether the view of the matter is or whether such experiences merely furnish, as the instance of what we are told happens in connection with the divinations of the women in the sacred places. For they pick up a chance cord of earth or a stone, and try to see in it the answer to their enquiry. And, as the story goes, some find there cord right, while

[1] Probably T. Flavius Sabinus, executed by Domitian. (T. Rose, *Life of Apollonius*, [illegible]; Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana* I. 1. But cf. Introduction, vol. I, p. viii.

γίγνεσθαι κοῦφον, ταῖς δὲ βαρύν, ὡς μηδὲ κινῆσαι δυνασθαι ῥαδίως

3 Μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸ φεύγειν καὶ τὸ πίνεσθαι καὶ γῆρας δὴ καὶ νοῦσον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μὲν βαρέα φαίνεται καὶ χαλεπά, τοῖς δ' ἐλαφρά τε καὶ εὔκολα ἐκεῖ μὲν ἴσως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος διαφορὰν ἐλαφρύνοντος τοῦ δευτερεύοντος τὸ βάρος, ἐνταῦθα δέ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρωμένου δύναμιν καὶ γνώμην

4 Καὶ δὴ ἀνεμιμνησκόμην Ὀδυσσέως τε παρ' Ὁμήρῳ κατοδυρομένου πολλάκις αὐτόν, ἀνδρὸς ἥρωος οὐδαμῶς τε ἀδυνάτου καρτερεῖν, πολλὰ ὅμως ἀναξία λέγοντος καὶ θρηνοῦντος ἑκάστοτε παρὰ τῇ θαλάττῃ δια πόθον τῆς πατρίδος· τέλος δέ, ὥς φησιν ὁ ποιητής, ἐπεθύμει κατιὼν ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γῆς ἀποθανεῖν εἰ καὶ δέοι πυραχρῆμα ἀποθνῄσκειν, καὶ οὔτε τὰ πρότερον ἔργα παρεμυθεῖτο αὐτὸν οὔτε θεὸς μάλα καλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ φύσει πολλοῦ ποιούμενος, ὥστε ὑποσχεσθαι ποιήσειν αὐτὸν ἀθάνατον, ἀλλὰ πάντων τούτων κατίσχυεν

5 ὁ τῆς πατρίδος πόθος τε καὶ ἔρως· πάλιν δ' αὖ παρ' ἑτέρῳ ποιητῇ τῶν ἑτέρων τὴν Ἠλέκτραν πενθούσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λυπηρῶς καὶ ἀλεούσαν αὐτὸν τῆς φυγῆς, οὕτω πως ἐρωτῶσαν·

ποῦ γῆς ὁ τλήμων τλήμονας φυγὰς ἔχει,

καὶ τὸν οὐχ ἥττων ἀλεεινῶς ἀποκρινόμενον,[1]

οὐχ ἅπα νομίζων φθείρεται πόλεως τόπον·[2]

[1] ἀποκρινόμενον Emperius ἀνακρινόμενον.
[2] νόμῳ in the MSS. of Euripides.

others find theirs so heavy that they are not able even to move it easily.

"May not exile, after all," I thought, "and poverty, yes, and old age too and sickness and all such things, appear heavy to some and grievous, but to others light and easy? For in the first case, perhaps God adjusts the weight according to the importance of the matter in question, and in the second case I imagine it suit the strength and will power of the afflicted one.

And then I recalled Homer's Odysseus, who is always bewailing his lot, although he was a hero and quite able to endure. Yet he for all that says many unworthy things, and forever sits lamenting on the shore of the sea because he yearns for his native land, and finally, as the poet says, the longing came upon him to see smoke ascending from his own country, even if he should have to die straightway, and neither his former experiences nor solace from a goddess very beautiful and good who cherished him, going so far as to promise to make him immortal, but as these things were outweighed by his yearning and love for his native land.[1] And then again I recalled how in one of the later poets[2] Electra, when enquiring about her brother in mournful fashion and pitying him for his exile, asks in somewhat the following fashion,

> Where does the wretched man his wretched exile spend?

And he replies no less piteously,

> In no one settled region doth he so waste away.

[1] See Homer, *Odyssey* I. 48–59.
[2] Euripides, *Electra* 233–236.

τὴν δὲ αἰδῆς ἐρωτῶσαν,

ἤπου σπανίζει ταῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου;

κἀκεῖνον οὕτως λέγοντα

ἔχει μέν, ἀσθενῆ δέ, ἅτε φαίνεσθαι ὑγίη.

6 πρὸς δὲ [1] τούτοις μυρία δὴ τολμήματα τολμήματα καὶ πολέμους πολεμήσαντας ὅπου φεύγοιεν, ὅπως οἴκαδε κατέλθοιεν, πρός τε τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς τυράννους τοὺς ἐξελόντας παρὰ σοφίαν, μεγα νομίζοντας,[2] εἰ καὶ δίκα τελοῦντες μαχόμενοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν γῇ

Συμπαντα ταῦτά με ἐξέπλητε καὶ ἠπίγαπζε δεινὰν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ βαρὺ τὸ σημβεβηκός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνεθυμούμην ὅτι Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῶν βασιλεῖ συνεβουλευσεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων σωμβαντος τοῦς φεύγειν ἑκοντα καταλιπόντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ μηδὲν αἰσχυνεσθαι τουτου ἕνεκεν, εἰ δοξει κακὸς εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρωποις, οὕτω πως θεσπισας·

7 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμιονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τοτε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρε, παρ' Ἕρμον φεύγειν μηδὲ μενεῖν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακος εἶναι,

δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αἰδῶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ὀνομαζων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, καὶ τὸ κακον εἶναι ἀντὶ τῆς δοξης τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς

8 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐνεθυμούμην ὅτι οὐ παντως ἡ φυγὴ βλαβερὸν οὐδὲ ἀσυμφορον οὐδὲ τὸ μένειν ἀγαθὸν

[1] Ed Gent. δή. [2] νομίζοντων Reiske νομίζοντας.

[1] Herodotus I 55, translated by Rawlinson, modified to suit the present context.

Then she again asks,

Does he perchance live scant of daily bread?

And he replies thus,

Nay, bread he hath, but strengthless, exile's fare.

And in addition to all this I recalled countless deeds of valour performed and wars waged by exiles seeking thus to be restored to their homes, wars waged beyond their strength against the popular governments and despotisms by which they had been driven out, for they counted it a great achievement to fight on their own soil even if it meant their death.

All these recollections frightened me and forced me to consider what had happened to me a terrible and onerous thing. But again, I reflected that Croesus, the king of the Lydians, was advised by Apollo, when a certain mischance fell, to leave his kingdom and go voluntarily into exile, and not to feel himself disgraced if he should be looked upon by men as a coward, the oracle running somewhat as follows:

> Wait till the time shall come when a mule is monarch of Media
> Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles of Hermus;
> Haste thee and no longer stay, nor have awe of being a coward.[1]

It is evident that the poet uses 'awe' instead of 'shame' as is the custom the poets have, and 'being a coward' in place of 'being thought so by the many'. Then next the thought came to me that exile is not altogether injurious or unprofitable, nor

[illegible] γὰρ ἂν τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν σωφρονεῖν καὶ συνεβουλεύειν ὁ Ἀπόλλων, τὸ φεύγειν, τὸ δὲ μένειν, ἑκάτερον ἀνωμολόγει, καὶ ταῦτα αὖθις θεσπίζων ὡς ἂν ἀκριβέστατα σῴζοιτο τὸ θεῖον καὶ θνητὸς τὸ πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ μεγίστου κτήμασι σύνοικον τοῖς παροῦσι κατθεῖτο εἰς Δελφούς.

Ταῦτα δεδιωκόμενοι μὲν ἔθεσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς θεοῦ βαθύκολπα χρηστήρια· τὸ δὲ πλείστου ἄξιον τῶν Ἑλλήνων [illegible] γὰρ πόρρω [illegible] καὶ ἀκαθάρτους, εἰ καὶ μὴ γεγενήμεθα φαῦλοι καὶ πόρρω κακίας ἀπεστήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν πόρρω δὲ τούτου πράγματος ἄρτιον διατελοῦμεν καὶ δὴ χρώμενοι μὲν ἀνεῖλον ἄνθρωπον τινα χρήμασι καὶ τὸ ῥᾴδιον συμβαλεῖν· ἐκείνου γὰρ μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττειν ὃ ὢν εἶμι πολὺ πρεσβύτερος ὡς ἀκίνδυνον τοῦ [illegible] ἔτι δὲ δὴ, ὅτι τὸ ἀνόσιον ἀνελεῖν τῆς γῆς ἐστιν χαλεπὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου τὸ φεύγεσθαι, μὴ ὅτι κατὰ θεῶν ἐλογισάμεν· οὐκ ἴσμεν ὁ μὲν ἀθάνατον μετὰ τοσούτου πλούτου ἐν ὑπερβολῇ ἐλεοῦσθαι πολὺ κρείττω φύσιν ἔχοντα τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, ἀνδρὸς τεθνηκότος, μετὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπου φυσικῶν μηδὲν ἐπὶ γεγενημένου πολλοστῶν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ τοιούτου τοῦ θεοῦ κολακεύοντος.

Οὕτω δὴ παρακελευσαμένου ἐμαυτῷ μήτε δεδιέναι μήτε ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἀπολὼν τὸ παρόντα ἀπολέμων καὶ τέλλα κοιλάσας ἔμαυτον

[1] [illegible] [illegible]
[2] [illegible] Wolf [illegible]
[3] [illegible] T [illegible]
[4] τό added by Capps

[1] Compare Plato, *Apology of Socrates*, 30.

staying at home a good and praiseworthy thing. For Apollo would not have urged and advised the one course to [illegible] and have expressly forbidden the other course, staying [illegible] where purchasing to a man who had been most careful about divine observances and had offered the most sacrifices and sent to Delphi the largest votive offerings [illegible] up there.

Bearing in mind all these things I decided to go to the gods to [illegible] as a competent adviser [illegible] according to the ancient custom of the [illegible]. For surely thought I, if he gives competent advice about sickness and, if [illegible] not even to a man about [illegible] and about harvests he [illegible] about such a case as this. And then when I consulted him he gave me a [illegible] reply and [illegible] to stay put. For he bade me to keep on doing with all zeal the very thing which I am engaged in, being a most [illegible] and useful activity, until [illegible] to the uttermost parts of the earth. And yet [illegible] is a harsh thing to impute and not consistent with even a man's standards, to say nothing of a god's. Accordingly I reflected that Odysseus after all his wanderings did not hesitate to return once more when he learned as far as Troy, as a man dead and gone, had arrived him, until he should fall in with people who know not the sea, even by chance,* and should not I follow his example? God as bade!

So after exhorting myself in this way neither to fear or be ashamed of my action, and putting on humble attire and otherwise chastening myself I

* See Homer, *Odyssey*, 11. 119 ff.

11 ἡλίῳ πανταχοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἄνθρωποι
ἄφρονες, οἱ μὲν ἄλογοι, οἱ δὲ πτωχοὶ ἄκλοιοι,
οἱ δέ τινες καὶ φιλόσοφοι· ἐπειδὴ ἐμοὶ συνέβη
καὶ ἄλογοι τε καὶ οὐ βουλευόμενοι αὐτοὶ οὐδὲ
ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μεγάλα φροντίζειν τοῖς τοῦ σώματος
τυχεῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν καλουμένων
φιλοσόφων αὐτοὺς ἀπεκαρτέρουν ὅπερ οἱ
Ὀλυμπιονίκαι· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγοντας
12 οὐκ ἐθαύμαζον ἀεὶ καὶ πολὺ διαφέρειν· τὸ δέ
τι καὶ ἀπολαύσαι τῆς φύσεως ἐπεθύμουν· πολλοὶ
γὰρ ἡμῶν πρωτίστοις ὅ τι μὴ φύσει ἀγαθὸν
ἢ κακὸν ὤντα ἠναγκάζοντο φύσει ζῆν ὑπὲρ
τούτων, ἵνα ἔχωμεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι·
πολὺ δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦν λέγειν καὶ πράττειν[1] εἰς τὸ κοινὸν
οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον ἐγίγνετο λέγειν περὶ
13 τῶν ἐρωτησάντων τοῖς ἀεὶ τοῦ καὶ ἀφ' ὧν
ἔμελλον ὠνήσεσθαι τὰ ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα.

Ἠδόκουν δὲ μοι πάντες ἄφρονες, ὡς ἔπος
εἰπεῖν καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὧν ἔδει πράττειν οὐδὲ
σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλάξοιτο τῶν παρόντων κακῶν
καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἀμαθίας καὶ παραφορᾶς ἀπειρο-
τέρου καὶ ἀμείνων βιώσεται· ἀνοιμώκτους δὲ καὶ
φερομένους πάντας ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
σχεδὸν, περὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δόξας καὶ σώματος
τινας ἡδονάς, οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλαττόμενος τούτων δυνα-
μένων οὐδὲ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν καθάπερ,
οἶμαι, τὰ ἀμπεχόνια ἐξ τῶν δυνῶν εἰλούμενα καὶ
περιστρεφόμενα καὶ οὐχ οἷά τε[2] ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς

[1] πανταχοῦ Pflugk, με πανταχόθεν Reiske, μετιόντα.
[2] After τε the MSS. have δυνάμενοι, which seems transposed.

proceeded to roam every where. And the men whom I met [illegible] of me would sometimes [illegible] a tramp and a vagrant, a beggar, though never did [illegible] me a philosopher. From that I came about gradually and without any passage or any self-concert on my part, but I acquired his name. Now the great majority of those around [illegible] philosophers proclaim themselves such just as the Thracians because proclaim the nature, but in my case when the other four [illegible] to me I was [illegible] and [illegible] to have the matter out with them. And very many as it turned out I do [illegible] somewhat by the general report about me. For many would approach me and ask what was my opinion about good and evil. As a result I was forced to think about these matters, but I might be able to answer my questioners. [illegible] would invite me to come before the people and [illegible] (consequently it became necessary for me to speak) and about the divine man and about the things that were [illegible] to predict them.

And the opinion I had was that pretty well all men are fools, and that no one does any of the things he should do or considers how to [illegible] the evil that befell him and of his great ignorance and confusion of mind so as to live a more virtuous and a better life, but that they are being thrown into confusion and are swept round and round in the same place and about practically the same objects to wit, money and reputation and certain pleasures of the body, which no one is able to find himself of these and set himself free, just as I fancy things that get [illegible] a whirlpool are tossed and round without being able to free themselves from the

14 διυήσεως. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τούς τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν καταμεμφόμενος ἐνίοτε[1] ὑπὸ ἀπορίας ἦα ἐπί τινα λόγον ἀρχαῖον, λεγόμενον ὑπό τινος Σωκράτους, ὃν οὐδέποτε ἐκεῖνος ἐπαύσατο λέγων, πανταχοῦ τε καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας βοῶν καὶ διατεινόμενος ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις καὶ ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων[2] καὶ κατ' ἀγυιάς, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεός, ὡς ἔφη τις. οὐ μέντοι προσεποιού-
15 μην ἐμὸν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' οὗπερ ἦν, καὶ ἠξίουν, ἂν ἄρα μὴ δύνωμαι ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἀκριβῶς ἁπάντων τῶν ῥημάτων μηδὲ ἅλης τῆς διανοίας, ἀλλὰ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον εἴπω τι, συγγνώμην ἔχειν, μηδὲ ὅτι ταῦτα λέγω ἃ τυγχάνει πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρότερον εἰρημένα, διὰ τοῦτο ἧττον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἴσως γὰρ ἄν, ἔφην, οὕτως μάλιστα ὠφεληθείητε. οὐ γὰρ δή γε εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς παλαιοὺς λόγους ὥσπερ φάρμακα διαπνεύσαντας ἀπολωλεκέναι τὴν δύναμιν.

16 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁπότ' ἴδοι πλείονας ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, σχετλιάζων καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν ἐβόα πάνυ ἀνδρείως τε καὶ ἀνυποστόλως, Ποῖ φέρεσθε,

[1] ἐνίοτε Reiske. ἦν ἐνίοτε δὲ (δὲ καὶ by corrector) P, ἐνίοτε δὲ UBM.

[2] τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ κατ Cobet: τῶν διδασκαλείων καὶ κατ' UB, τῷ διδασκαλείῳ κατ' MP

[1] At this point begins the passage ending in section 28, which is based on either the pseudoplatonic *Clitophon* or on a source common to both it and this passage in Dio. See Introduction, p. 89.

whirling. While I was uttering these and similar appeals to all others, but first and foremost of myself, at times, when at a loss, I would have recourse to an ancient appeal made by a certain Socrates,[1] one that he never ceased making, even when he was being torn to pieces on the wrack, and in the Lyceum and at the workshop, and up and down the market place. "Like a rod swung into view by the machine,"[2] as someone has said. By no means, however, did I pretend that the appeal was mine, but gave the credit where it was due, and recounted them because I were unable to recall accurately all the phrases, or even not all the thoughts, but should add or subtract nothing to grant me their indulgence and not to pay any the less attention to me just because I was repeating what happened to have been said many years before. "For perhaps," said I, "you will in no way derive the greatest benefit. For in truth," I added, "it is not at all possible that the words of old have evaporated like drugs and lost their power."

Now Socrates, whenever he saw several persons assembled, would cry out most bravely and frankly with indignant rebuke and censure, "Whither are you

[1] The statement that Socrates never ceased making this appeal was made by Socrates himself according to Plato. See Plato, *Apology of Socrates* 29 d.

[2] See the [illegible] *Orestes* 40[illegible] for the same phrase. [illegible] was not the king of the way the g[illegible] was brought into view [illegible] which he gave [illegible] elevated position. Plato in the passage cited says that the [illegible] had recourse to a deus ex machina whenever they were in difficulties in the plot.

[3] The [illegible] is the man who used the preceding expression in the course which she used.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible] Greece and Egypt.

τοὺς τῶν ὑμετέρων παίδων διδασκάλους, οἱ παιδοτρίβαι καὶ κιθαρισταὶ καὶ γραμματισταί, προσλαβόντες τούς τε ῥαψῳδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτάς,

18 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅσα μανθάνουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τούτου ἕνεκα μανθάνουσιν ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν ἡ χρεία ἐνστῇ πρὸς ἣν ἐμάνθανεν ἕκαστος, ποιῇ τὸ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, οἷον ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης ὅταν εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐμβῇ, τῷ πηδαλίῳ κατευθύνων[1] διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμάνθανε κυβερνᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἰατρὸς ἐπειδὰν παραλάβῃ τὸν κάμνοντα, τοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἰώμενος, οὗ ἕνεκα ἐκτήσατο τὴν ἐμπειρίαν

19 οὐκοῦν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ἐπειδὰν δέῃ τι βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως, συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οἱ μὲν ὑμῶν κιθαρίζουσιν ἀναστάντες, οἱ δέ τινες παλαιετε, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκετε τῶν Ὁμήρου τε λαβόντες ἢ τῶν Ἡσιόδου, ταῦτα γὰρ ἄμεινον ἴστε ἑτέρων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων οἴεσθε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσεσθαι καὶ δυνήσεσθαι τά τε κοινὰ πράττειν[2] ὀρθῶς καὶ τὰ ἴδια, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οἰκεῖτε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς υἱέας παρασκευάζετε ὡς δυνατοὺς ἐσομένους χρῆσθαι τοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν, οἳ ἂν ἱκανῶς κιθαρίσωσι[3]

Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν

[1] κατευθύνων Reiske: κατευθυνῇ.
[2] πράττειν Dindorf. πράξειν UBP, πράξιν M.

teachers of your children, of whom I speak. I mean the gymnastic masters, the cithara players, and the school-masters, including the rhapsodists and the actors.

"For mark you, everything that people learn they learn simply in order that when the need arises for the things which each man has learned he may do the work of his profession, the pilot, for instance, guiding the ship with the rudder as soon as he steps on board—for this is why he studied piloting—and the physician healing with his drugs and dietary regulations when he assumes charge of his patient, the purpose for which he acquired his skill. And so, to take your own case, he continued, "when there is need of any deliberation concerning the welfare of your city and you have come together in the Assembly, do some of you get up and play the cithara, and certain other individuals wrestle, and yet others of you take something of Homer's or Hesiod's and proceed to read it? For these are the things that you know better than the others, and these are the things which you think will make you good men and enable you to conduct your public affairs properly and your private concerns likewise. And now, these are the hopes which inspire you when you direct your city and prepare your sons, thinking to qualify them to handle both their own and the public interests if only they can play satisfactorily

Pallas, dread destroyer of cities,[1]

[1] Lamprocles, fragment 1 in Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*. Quoted in Aristophanes, *Clouds* 967, where the poet also is speaking of education.

[1] *αἰδοῖοι* Emperius: *αἰδοῖοι* L.

ἢ ἄλω[1] ποδὶ βῶσι πρὸς τὴν λύραν· ὅπως δὲ γνώσεσθε τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως μεθ' ὁμονοίας πολιτεύσεσθε καὶ οἰκήσετε, μὴ ἀδικῶν ἄλλος ἄλλον μηδὲ ἐπιβουλεύων, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδέποτε ἐμάθετε οὐδὲ ἐμέλη-
20 σεν ὑμῶν πώποτε οὐδὲ νῦν ἔτι φροντίζετε. καίτοι τραγῳδοὺς ἑκάστοτε ὁρᾶτε τοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ ἐλεεῖτε τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τραγῳδίαις ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδέποτε ἐνεθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐ περὶ τοὺς ἀγραμμάτους οὐδὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀπαίδευτας οὐδὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας πολιτεύειν γίγνεται τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα, οὐδὲ ὅτι πένης τίς ἐστιν, οὐδεὶς ἕνεκα τούτου τραγῳδίαν ἐδίδαξεν. τοὐναντίον γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀτρέας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονας καὶ τοὺς Οἰδιπόδας ἴδοι τις ἂν πάσας τὰς τραγῳδίας, οἳ πλείστα ἐκέκτηντο χρήματα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ γῆς καὶ βασκημάτων· καὶ δὴ τῷ δυστυχεστάτῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι φασὶ χρυσοῦν πρόβατον
21 καὶ μὴν ὁ Θάμυρίς γε εὖ μάλα ἐπιστάμενος κιθαρίζειν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς Μούσας ἐριζον περὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας, ἐτυφλώθη διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προσέτι ἀπέμαθε τὴν κιθαριστικήν. καὶ τὸν Παλαμήδην οὐδὲν ὤνησεν αὐτὸν εὑρόντα τὰ γράμματα πρὸς τὸ

[1] ἄλω Herwerden, cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1185 ἐνίβαμεν ἄλω ποδὶ τῷ.

[1] That is, Atreus the son of Pelops. According to the version of the story which Dio seems to have in mind Atreus vowed to sacrifice to Artemis the most beautiful creature born in his flocks, but when the golden lamb was born, he disregarded his vow and hid the lamb in a chest. Then his brother

[illegible] with eager feet betake themselves to the free. But [illegible] to search what is to your own advantage and that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] without bringing [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] never earned [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

μὴ ἀδίκως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παιδευθέντων καταλευσθέντα ἀποθανεῖν· ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν ἦσαν ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς τούτου τοῦ μαθήματος, ζῆν αὐτὸν εἴων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούς τε ἄλλους ἐδίδαξε γράμματα καὶ τοὺς Ἀτρείδας δῆλον ὅτι πρώτους, καὶ μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τοὺς φρυκτοὺς ὅπως χρὴ ἀνέχειν καὶ ἀριθμεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ πρότερον οὐκ ᾔδεσαν οὐδὲ καλῶς ἀριθμῆσαι τὸν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιμένες τὰ πρόβατα, τηνικαῦτα σοφώτεροι γενόμενοι καὶ ἀμείνους ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν.

22 Εἰ δέ γε, ἔφη, τοὺς ῥήτορας οἴεσθε ἱκανοὺς εἶναι πρὸς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τέχνην ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ποιεῖν, θαυμάζω ὅτι οὐ καὶ δικάζειν ἐκείνοις ἐπετρέψατε ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅπως οὐκ, εἰ δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους ὑπειλήφατε, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐκείνοις ἐπετρέψατε διαχειρίζειν· ὅμοιον γὰρ ἂν ποιήσαιτε ὥσπερ εἰ κυβερνήτας καὶ ναύαρχους τῶν τριήρων ἀποδείξαιτε[1] τοὺς τριηρίτας[2] ἢ τοὺς κελευστάς.

23 Εἰ δὲ δή[3] τις λέγοι τῶν πολιτικῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ταύτῃ μέντοι τῇ παιδεύσει χρώμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι Περσῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δὶς ἐφεξῆς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δύναμιν καὶ

[1] ἀποδείξαιτε Emperius : ἀποδείξητε UBM, ἀποδείξετε P.
[2] τριηρίτας Reiske : τριήρεις UB, τριηλάτας MP.

suffering injustice at the hands of the very Achaeans who had been instructed by him and from being put to death by stoning. But as long as they were unlettered and unacquainted with this special learning of his, they permitted him to live. When, however, he had taught the others to read and write, and the Atreidae of course first of all, and along with their letters had shown them how to raise hale-fires and how to count the host - for previously they had not known how to count the multitude properly, as shepherds do their sheep[1] - as soon as they had become more clever and proficient, then it was that they slew him.

"But if you really think," said he, "that the orators are qualified to deliberate and that their profession is competent to make men good, I am surprised that you have not entrusted the deciding of questions of state to them instead of to your selves; and why, if you regard them as the best and most just of men, you have not allowed them to manage your finances also. No, for you would be acting just as if you were to appoint the marines or boatswains to be the helmsmen and captains of your triremes!"

Then if one of the public men and orators said to him in reply: "Anyhow it was this education that the Athenians had received and were using at the time when the Persians came with so many myriads against their city twice in succession, and against the rest of Greece: on the first occasion when the Persian king

[1] To Palamedes was ascribed the invention of the letters of the alphabet, of the numerals, of astronomy, of written laws.

[a] ἡμῶν Pflugk: ὑμῶν P, ὑμῶν ἡμῶν UBM.

στρατηγοὶ ἀποστέλλοντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἕτερον δὲ αὐτοῦ Ξέρξου παραγενομένου μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἅπαντας τούτους ἐνίκησαν καὶ παντελῶς περιῆραν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι· καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἠδύναντο περιεῖναι τηλικαύτης παρασκευῆς καὶ τοσούτου πλήθους μὴ διαφέροντες κατ' ἀρετήν; ἢ πῶς ἂν ἀρετῇ διέφερον μὴ τῆς ἀρίστης παιδείας τυγχάνοντες, ἀλλὰ φαύλης καὶ πονηρᾶς;

24 Πέρσας τοίνυν τοιαῦτα εἰκότως ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἦλθον παιδείαν οὐκ ἐμείας παιδευθέντες οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμονες βασιλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τοξεύειν τε καὶ ἱππεύειν καὶ θηρᾶν μεμελετηκότες, καὶ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι τὸ σῶμα αἰσχιστον αὐτοῖς ἔδοκει καὶ τὸ πτωχεύειν ἐν τοῖς φανερῶ· ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ὀνήσειν· ὥστε οὐδ' ἦν στρατηγὸς ἐκείνων οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ἀμιθήτων πάντων ἀφρόνων καὶ κακοδαιμόνων· εἴ τε δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχεν ἀρθὴν ἔχων τιάραν καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσοῦ καθήμενος, ὑφ' οὗ πάντες ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἠλαυνοντο πρὸς βίαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀρῶν, καὶ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ δεδιότες καὶ ἀθούμενοι καὶ τρέμοντες παγκά-
25 ζοντο ἀποθνήσκειν. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ δύο ἄνθρωποι πάλαιον οὐκ εἴδοτε πάλαιον, ὁ μὲν ἕτερος κατα-βάλοι ἂν ἀνοῖτο τὸν ἕτερον, οὐ δι' ἐμπειρίαν,

[1] The "Just Argument" makes the same claim in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes 984–6: "But etc., these are the things on which my education reared the men who fought at Marathon" —

ἀλλ' οὖν τάδ' ἐστὶ δεινά,
ἃ ἐν ἀνδρὶ Μαραθωνομάχῃ ἐγὼ μὴ παιδεύων ἔθρεψα.

sent an army and generals,[1] and later when Xerxes came in person with all the hosts of Asia, but nevertheless they conquered all these and everywhere proved superior to them both in planning and in fighting. And yet how would they have been able to prevail over so great an armament and over so mighty a host, if they had not been superior in the qualities of valour? Or how would they have been superior in such excellence, if they had not enjoyed the most excellent education, but a poor and useless one?"

In answer to anyone using such arguments he would reply that neither had their enemies received any education before they came, nor did they know how to deliberate about affairs of state, but had simply been trained to shoot and ride and hunt, while they thought exposure of the body the most shameful thing and spitting in public. "But those things," he said, "were destined to avail them not at all, with the result that there was not even a general over them nor yet a king, but there were simply countless myriads of men, all foolish and doomed to an evil fate. However, there was one among them who had the right to wear his tiara upright and to sit upon a golden throne, by whom all were driven on by compulsion, as if by an evil spirit, some into the sea and some down from the hills; while scourged by the lash, in terror, and jostling one another and trembling, they were forced to die. Hence, just as if two men quite ignorant of wrestling were to wrestle together, one of them would sometimes throw the other, not because of his greater experience but by mere chance, and often the same

[1] See Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, I. 2. 16.

ἀλλὰ διά τινα τύχην, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δὶς ἐφεξῆς ὁ αὐτός, οὕτως καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Πέρσαι συμβαλόντες, τοτὲ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι περιῆσαν, τοτὲ δὲ Πέρσαι, ὥσπερ ὕστερον, ὅτε καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως
20 κατέβαλον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμοῦντες. ἐπεὶ ἔχοις ἄν μοι εἰπεῖν εἰ τότε[1] Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμουσότεροι καὶ ἀγραμματώτεροι γεγόνεσαν; ἔπειτα αὖθις ἐπὶ Κόνωνος, ὅτε ἐνίκησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ Κνίδον, ἄμεινον ἐπάλαιον καὶ ἥδιον;

Οὕτως οὖν ἀπέφαινεν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας χρηστῆς τυγχάνοντας. τοῦτο δ', ἔφη,[2] οὐ μόνον Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν συμβέβηκεν.

21 Καὶ μὴν τό γε ἀπαίδευτον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον[3] ἐὸν χρή, μηδὲ ἱκανῶς παρεσκευασμένον πρὸς τὸν βίον ζῆν τε καὶ πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν οὕτως μεγάλα πράγματα, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἀρέσκειν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ψέγειν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ δυναμένους ζῆν ὀρθῶς εἶναι δὲ ἀμαθεῖς οὐχὶ τοὺς ὑφαίνειν ἢ σκυτοτομεῖν μὴ ἐπισταμένους οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀρχεῖσθαι οὐκ εἰδότας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας ἃ ἔστιν εἰδότα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι.

[1] τότε Casaubon: ποτε.
[2] ἔφη added by Cappe.
[3] ἐπιστάμενον Venetian edition: ἐπισταμένους.

[1] At the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. The Persians are credited with having tipped the scale in favour of Sparta.

man would even throw his opponent twice in succession—so too, when the Persians clashed with the Athenians, at one time the Athenians prevailed and at another time the Persians, as at a later time, when they were hitting the Athenians with the aid of the Lacedaemonians, they even tore down the walls of their city. Yet would you be able to assert to me that at that time the Athenians had become less cultivated and more illiterate? Afterwards again, in the time of Conon, when they won the naval engagement off Cnidus,* were they more skilful at writing and singing odes?

Thus in the way that in which he would demonstrate that they were not receiving a useful education. And this, he said, had been the experience not alone of the Athenians, but of practically all mankind both in the past and in the present age.

Furthermore, he would go on to say, to be uneducated and to know none of the essential things and to have no adequate preparation for life, and yet to go on living and to attempt while in that condition to carry on important matters of state—this cannot satisfy even the persons themselves, for they themselves criticise the ignorant and uneducated as not being able to live aright. And by the ignorant I mean not those who do not know how to weave or how to make shoes, nor the people who cannot dance, but those who are ignorant of the things which one must know if he is to be a good and noble man.

* Since the naval engagement between the Athenians and Spartans off Cnidus was fought in 394 B.C. and Socrates was put to death in 399 B.C., he could not have spoken this sentence.

19 Καὶ οὕτως δὴ παρακάλει πρὸς τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἤδει γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο ζητοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσουσιν ἢ φιλοσοφήσουσι· τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὅπως τις ἔσται καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν. οὐ μέντοι πολλάκις οὕτως ὠνόμαζεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ζητεῖν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται.

20 Πρός τε οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους σχεδόν τι τὰ αὐτὰ διελεγόμην ἀρχαῖα καὶ ἔωλα,[1] καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἴων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἔδοξεν μὲν οὐδένα ἐτόλμων διαλέγεσθαι λόγον, μὴ καταγελασθῶ τε καὶ ἀνόητος δοξω φοβούμενος, ἅτε συνειδὼς αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ ἀμαθίαν· ἐνεθυμούμην δέ·

Φέρε, ἂν[2] μιμούμενος τοιούτους τινὰς διαλέγωμαι λόγους περὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἀγαθόν, καὶ περὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας, καὶ ὅτι παιδιαὶ πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς δεόνται, τυχὸν οὐ καταγελάσουσι μου ταῦτα λέγοντος οὐδὲ φήσουσιν ἀνόητον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔξω λέγειν ὅτι εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀνδρὸς ὃν οἵ τε Ἕλληνες ἐθαύμασαν ἅπαντες ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων σοφώτατον[3] αὐτὸν ἡγήσατο· καὶ Ἀρχέλαος Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πολλοῖς συγγεγονὼς τῶν σοφῶν, ἐκάλει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δώροις

[1] ἔωλα Cappe: φαυλα.
[2] φέρε, ἂν Arnim: φέραν M, φέρε αἂν VRP.
[3] σοφώτατον Kaibel. Cf. Plato, Apology 21 a: σοφόν.

And speaking in this manner he would exhort his hearers to take care to pay heed to his words, and to pursue philosophy; for he knew that if they sought that which he recommended, they would be doing nothing else than studying philosophy. For if a man strives earnestly to be good and honorable, that is nothing but being a philosopher. However, he did not often use that word for it, but merely bade them to seek to be good men.

Now to my hearers I used to say practically the same things as Socrates did: things old-fashioned and trite, though they were, and when they refused to leave me in peace even on reaching Rome itself, I did not venture to speak any word of my own, fearing lest I be laughed at and regarded as a fool, since I was well aware how completely old-fashioned and ignorant I was, and I said to myself:

Come now, if I, copying the words of another, use such derogatory words about things which are highly regarded at Rome here, and say to them that not one of these things is a good, if I speak of luxury and intemperance, and tell them that what they need is a thorough and sound education, perhaps they will not laugh at me for uttering such sentiments as now decree that I am a fool. But if they do, I shall be able to say that those words were spoken by a man whom the Greeks one and all admired for his wisdom, and what is more, whom Apollo actually considered the wisest man in the world,[1] while Archelaus, the king of Macedonia, who knew a great deal and had conversed with many wise men, tried to get him to come to Macedonia, offering

[1] See Plato, *Apology of Socrates* 21 a and compare Dio Chrysostom 53 6.

καὶ μαθοῖς, ὅπως ἀκούοι αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου τοὺς λόγους τοιούτους.[1]

21 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπειρώμην διαλέγεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπειδή με ἐκάλεσαν καὶ λέγειν ἠξίουν, οὐ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀπολαμβάνων ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ περιπάτοις· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν οὕτως ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει συγγίγνεσθαι πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀθρόοις εἰς ταὐτὸ συνιοῦσιν, ὅτι δέονται παιδείας κρείττονος καὶ ἐπιμελεστέρας, εἰ μέλλουσιν εὐδαίμονες ἔσεσθαι τῷ ὄντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δοξῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥσπερ νῦν· εἴ τις αὐτοὺς μεταπείσει καὶ διδάξει παραλαβὼν ὅτι τούτων μὲν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγαθόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν σπουδάζουσι καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ κτῶνται, καὶ νομίζουσιν, ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω κτήσωνται, τοσούτῳ ἄμεινον βιώσεσθαι καὶ μακα-
22 ριώτερον· σωφροσύνην δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἅστερ ἐκμελετήσουσι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναλάβωσι, διδασκάλους ποθὲν τούτων εὑρόντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ἀμελήσαντες εἴτε Ἕλληνας εἴτε Ῥωμαίους, εἴτε τις παρὰ Σκύθαις ἢ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἀνὴρ ἐστι διδάσκαλος ὧν εἶπον, οὐχ[2] ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἱππικῆς ἄλλα[3] νὴ Δία ἰατρός τις θεραπεύειν ἐπισταμένος τὰ νοσήματα τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως ἱκανὸς ὢν ἰᾶσθαι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς νόσους, ὅστις ἀκολασίας καὶ πλεονεξίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρρωστημάτων δυνήσεται ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κρατου-
23 μένους, τοῦτον δεῖ[4] παραλαβόντας καὶ ἀγαγόντας,

[1] τοιούτους Capps: τούτους.
[2] οὐχ added by Capps.
[3] ἄλλα Capps: ἢ.
[4] δεῖ added by Cohoon.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

λόγῳ πείθοντας ἢ φίλους χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἄνδρα πείσθαι τοσούτων οὐδὲ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καταστήσαντας δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκροπόλιν κηρύττειν τοὺς νέους ἅπαντας φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ συνεῖναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἧττον τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὅμως ἂν ἅπαντες σοφοὶ γένοιντο καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐρασθέντες καταφρονήσαντες χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ ὄφεων ὅτι καὶ μύρων καὶ ἀφροδισίων εἰλικρινῶς οἰκοῖεν καὶ ἄρχοντες μάλιστα καὶ πρώτων αὐτῶν, ἔφεστα
26 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

Τότε γὰρ ἔφη, ἔσται ὑμῖν ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἄρχουσα κατ' ἀλήθειαν· ὡς τοῦ γε νῦν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς ὑπόπτου καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἀσφαλοῦς ὄντος· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἔφη πλείων ἡ τε εὐδαιμονία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη γίγνηται παρ' ὑμῖν, τοσούτῳ ἐλάττων ἔσται τό τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὰ ἐλεφάντινα ὀστᾶ καὶ τὰ ἠλεκτρινα καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ θύον καὶ ἔβενος καὶ ὁ τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμος καὶ τὰ ποικίλματα καὶ αἱ θαφαί, καὶ ζῶντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμῶν καὶ πάρα-
28 σχοντα ἐλάττονα αὐτῶν ἀποφανθῇ· ὅταν δὲ ἐλευθέρους ἤτε ἀπ' ἄκρου ἀρετῆς, οὐδένος καὶ ὀνείας μακρότερος καὶ ἀμείνους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ οὐ τοσούτῳ ὄχλον θρέψετε αὐλητριδῶν ἀργῶν καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον τὸ δὲ παντὸς παραδοξότατον· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν εὐσεβέστεροι καὶ ὁσιώτεροι γένησθε, τοσούτῳ ἐλάττων ἔσται παρ' ὑμῖν ὁ λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὰ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ στεφανώματα, καὶ θύοντες ἐλάττους θύσετε καὶ ἂν ἐλάττους δαπανᾶτε, καὶ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος τὸ νῦν παρ'

homes and bring him to come either by argument or by friendship—for by money such a man cannot be induced nor by any other gifts—and after establishing him on their acropolis they ought to issue an edict bidding all the young men to resort to him regularly and associate with him and equally the older men too, until all of them, having become enamoured of righteousness, and having learned to despise gold and silver and ivory, yes and rich food too and perfume and the lust of the flesh, should thereafter live happy lives, and be masters first and foremost of themselves and afterwards of all other men as well.

For my part, I continued, will your city be great and strong and truly imperial, since at present its greatness arouses distrust and is not very secure? For, said I, "in proportion as courage, justice, and temperance are lost among you, in that degree there will be less silver and gold and furniture of ivory and of amber, less of crystal and citron wood and ebony and women's adornments and embroideries and dyes of many hues; in short, all the things which are now considered in your city precious and worth fighting for, you will need in much greater quantities, and when you have reached the summit of virtue, not at all. And the houses in which you live will be smaller and better, and you will not support so great a throng of idle and utterly useless slaves, and the most paradoxical thing of all, the more god-fearing and pious you become, the less frankincense and fragrant offerings and garlands there will be among you, and you will offer fewer sacrifices and at less expense, and the whole multitude that is now being supported in your city

ὑμῖν τρεφόμενον πολὺ ἔλαττον ἔσται, καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις, ὥσπερ ναῦς κουφισθεῖσα, ἀνακύψει τε καὶ πολὺ ἔσται ἐλαφροτέρα καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρα.
36 ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Σίβυλλαν εὑρήσετε μαντευομένην ὑμῖν καὶ Βάκιν, εἴπερ ἀγαθὼ χρησμολόγω καὶ μάντει ἐγενέσθην. ὡς δὲ νῦν τὰ παρόντα διάκειται, χρημάτων ἕνεκα πλήθους, ἃ πάντα πανταχόθεν εἰς ἕνα τοῦτον ἤθροισται τὸν τόπον, τρυφῆς ἐπικρατούσης καὶ πλεονεξίας, ὅμοιόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ ὅτε[1] τὴν τοῦ Πατρόκλου πυρὰν ἐπινήσας[2] ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς πολλῶν μὲν ξύλων, πολλῶν δὲ στρωμάτων[3] καὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἔτι δὲ πιμελῆς τε καὶ ἐλαίου πρὸς τούτοις, παρακαλεῖ τοὺς ἀνέμους σπένδων καὶ θυσίας ὑποσχνούμενος ἐλθόντας ἐμπρῆσαί
37 τε καὶ ἀνάψαι. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἧττόν γε πεφυκεν ἐξάπτειν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν καὶ ἀκολασίαν.

Οὐ μέντοι ἔλεγον ὡς χαλεπὸν αὐτοῖς παιδευθῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τἆλλα, ἔφην, οὐδενὸς βελτίους πρότερον ὄντες ὅσα ἐβουλήθητε ῥᾳδίως ἐμάθετε· λέγω δὲ ἱππικὴν καὶ τοξικὴν καὶ ὁπλιτικὴν . . .

[1] ὅτε Geel and Jacobs : εἰ or ἐ.
[2] ἐπινήσας Cohoon, νήσας Arnim κοσμήσας.
[3] στρωμάτων Geel, σωμάτων.

will be much smaller, while the entire city, like a ship that has been lightened, will rise higher and be much more buoyant and safer. These same pronouncements you will find were made both by Sibylla and by Bacis,[1] if it be true that the two of them proved to be good soothsayers and seers. But as your possessions are now, on account of the great amount of wealth, all of which has been collected from all the world into this one place, luxury and covetousness being present, the situation is similar to that in which Achilles, after heaping high the pyre of Patroclus with many logs of wood, with many coverlets and garments, and also with fat and olive oil in addition, summons the winds, with libations and the promise of sacrifices, to come and set it afire and burn it.[2] For such possessions as yours are no less apt to kindle the wanton spirit and licentiousness of human beings."

I did not, however, maintain that it was difficult for them to become educated, for, said I, although you have hitherto been no whit better than other men, you learned easily enough all the other things that you wished. I refer to horsemanship, archery, fighting in heavy armour

[1] Neither Sibylla nor Chaerbdis was originally the name of an actual person, but the first was the designation of a type of prophetess, and the second of a type of sophist.

[2] See Homer, *Iliad* 23. 161–177, 192–218.

THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM [1]

[illegible]

[illegible] seeming indignation.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] was used.

[1] See Sickness 1. 2. 26.

14. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ Α

1 Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι μάλιστα πάντων, καὶ φασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν αἰσχίστου καὶ δυστυχεστάτου ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἢ ὅ τι τὸ δουλεύειν, οὐκ ἴσασιν. καὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ποιοῦσιν οὐδέν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅπως τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκφεύξονται, τὴν δουλείαν, ὃ δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι, κτήσονται, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ταῦτα πράττουσιν ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας διατελεῖν δουλεύοντας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ
2 μηδέποτε μετέχειν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιτυγχάνειν· πλὴν τούτους οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως θαυμάσαι ὅτι οὔτε ἑλεῖν οὔτε φυλάξασθαι δύνανται ὃ τυγχάνουσιν ἡγούμενοι· εἰ γοῦν ἐτύγχανον ἡγούμενοι πρόβατον καὶ λύκον ὅ τι[1] ἐστὶν ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν, ὅμως δὲ ἡγοῦντο[2] τὸ μὲν ὠφέλιμον καὶ κτήσασθαι ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ βλαβερὸν καὶ ἀσύμφορον, οὐκ ἂν ἦν[3] θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ τὸ μὲν πρόβατον ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ ἐφεύγον ὁπότε ὡς λύκον, τὸν δὲ λύκον προσιέντο καὶ ὑπέμενον, νομίσαντες πρόβατον· ἡ γὰρ ἄγνοια τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας καὶ ἀναγκάζει ταναντία φεύγειν καὶ διώκειν ὧν βούλονται καὶ τῶν συμφέροντων

[1] τι added by Morel. [2] ἡγοῦντο Reeske: ἡγοῦνται.
[3] οὐκ ἂν ἦν Stobaeus: εἰ καὶ οὐκ.

THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM I

Men desire above all things to be free and say that freedom is the greatest of benefits, while slavery is the most shameful and wretched of states, and yet they have no knowledge of the essential nature of this freedom and this slavery of which they speak. And what is more, they do practically nothing [illegible] to escape the shameful and grievous [illegible] which is slavery and to gain what they consider to be so valuable a state as freedom; but on the contrary they do the things which result in their continuing in slavery all their days and never attaining to freedom. However we should perhaps feel no surprise that these men are unable either to get or to avoid the thing of which they happen to be ignorant. For instance, if they happened to be ignorant as to what a sheep and a wolf are respectively, but nevertheless thought that the one was good and good to get while the other was harmful and unpeptable, it would not be at all surprising if they feared the sheep and fled from it at times as though it were a wolf, but let the wolf approach and [illegible] coming [illegible] it to be a sheep. For ignorance has this effect upon men who lack knowledge, and forces them to flee from and to pursue the opposite of what they desire to flee from and to pursue, and of what would be to their advantage.

2 Φέρε δὴ σκεψώμεθα εἰ ἄρα τι οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπίστανται περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δουλείας σαφές· ὅτιος γάρ τοι μαθὴν αὐτοὺς αἰτιώμεθα, οἱ δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἴσασιν.

Εἰ οὖν ἐροιτό τις αὐτοὺς ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, φαιεν ἂν ἴσως τὸ μηδενὸς ὑπήκοον, ἀλλὰ 4 πράττειν ἁπλῶς τὰ δοκοῦντα ἑαυτῷ· τὸν δὲ τούτο ἀποκρινάμενον ἐάν τις ἐπερωτᾷ, εἰ ἐν χορῷ χορευτὴν ὄντα μὴ προσέχειν τῷ κορυφαίῳ μηδὲ ὑπήκοον εἶναι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄδειν τε καὶ ἀπᾴδειν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ ἐπιῇ, τοῦτο καλὸν οἴεται εἶναι καὶ ἐλευθέριον, τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον τούτου, τὸ προσέχειν καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ τότε ἄρχεσθαι καὶ παύεσθαι ᾄδοντα ὅπόταν ἐκεῖνος κελεύσῃ, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι καὶ δουλοπρεπές, 5 οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι, ὁμολογοῖ· οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἐρωτήσειε, πλέοντα μὴ φροντίζειν τοῦ κυβερνήτου μηδὲ ποιεῖν ἅτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος εἴπῃ, εἰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐλεύθερον οἴοιτο· οἷον κελεύσαντος καθῆσθαι εστάναι ἐν τῇ νηί, ἐν αὐτῷ μόνον[1] ἐπιῇ, κἂν κελεύσῃ ἀντλεῖν ποτε ἢ συνελκεῖν τὰ ἱστία, μήτ' ἀντλῆσαι μηθ' ἅψασθαι τῶν κάλων, οὐδὲ τοῦτον εἴποι ἂν ἐλεύθερον οὐδὲ ζήλωτον, ὅτι πράττει τὰ 6 δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ[2]· καὶ μὴν τούς γε στρατιώτας οὐκ ἂν φαίη δούλους εἶναι, διότι ὑπήκοοι εἰσὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τότε ἀνίστανται ὅποταν ἐκεῖνος προστάξῃ, καὶ σῖτον αἱροῦνται καὶ ὅπλα λαμβάνουσι καὶ παρατάττονται καὶ ἕπεσθαι καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος· οὐδέ

[1] μόνον Cobet: μῆ.
[2] αὐτῷ Dindorf: αὐτῷ.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE SLAVERY I

Come then, let us consider whether the majority of men [illegible] have any clear knowledge about freedom [illegible] It is [illegible] possible that we [illegible] them without good reason and that they know [illegible]

Now if one were to ask them what the nature of freedom [illegible] would say [illegible] at [illegible] as being [illegible] to [illegible] according to their judgment. [illegible] one were [illegible] and ask the [illegible] who made this answer whether [illegible] things and were [illegible] a free man [illegible] a [illegible] slave [illegible] to the [illegible] subject to [illegible] but [illegible] in [illegible] out of [illegible] as he [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] and to begin a [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] And again if one were to ask whether he thought it was [illegible] of a free man when a passenger on [illegible] to pay [illegible] to the [illegible] and [illegible] to carry out whatever orders he should give, for instance, to stand erect in the ship when ordered to [illegible] he took a notion to do so, and if he were [illegible] ordered to bear or hurl [illegible] he would [illegible] of the [illegible] this man too he would not call free or [illegible] because he does what seems best to himself. And surely one would not call soldiers slaves because they are [illegible] to be given orders and [illegible] to they feel the [illegible] be given a command, and partake of food and [illegible] their weapons and fall to and advance and retire only at their generals

γε τοὺς κάμνοντας, ὅτι πείθονται τοῖς ἰατροῖς,
7 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο φησουσι δούλους εἶναι· καίτοι οὐ σμικρά γε οὐδὲ ῥᾴδια πείθονται αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεινῶν καὶ διψῶν ἐνίοτε προσταττουσι· κἂν δοξῇ ποτὲ τῷ ἰατρῷ τὸν κάμνοντα δῆσαι, παραχρῆμα δεθήσεται, κἂν τεμεῖν ἢ καῦσαι, καυθήσεται καὶ τμηθήσεται ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πειθηται, πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῷ ἰατρῷ συναγωνιοῦνται, οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις οἱ τοῦ νοσοῦντος οἰκέται αὐτοὶ καταδοῦσι τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ τὸ πῦρ κομιοῦσιν, ὅπως
8 καυθήσεται, καὶ τἄλλα ὑπηρετοῦσιν· μὴ οὖν οὐ φῂς ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἀηδῆ ἑτέρου κελευοντος ὑπομένει, οὐ γὰρ ὅτιπου τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα Δαρεῖοι οὐκ ἂν ἔφης ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ καταπεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, τοῦ ἀστραγάλου ἐκχωρήσαντος, ὑπήκουε τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἕλκουσι καὶ στρεβλοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα, ὅπως καταστήσεται τὸ ἄρθρον, καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνθρώποις· οὐδ' αὖ ξέρξης, ὑπηνίκα ἀναχωρῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ νηὶ πάντα ἐπείθετο τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ νεῦσαι οὐδὲ μεταβῆναι· οὐκοῦν τὸ[1] μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ τὸ πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ ἐλευθεριαν ἔτι φήσουσιν εἶναι.

9 Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐροῦσιν ὅτι οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶν συμφέροντι ὑπακουουσιν, ὡς οἱ πλέοντες τῷ

[1] οὐκοῦν τὸ Reiske δεικνύουσι M, δεικνύοντι UB.

[1] See Herodotus 2. 84.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

κυβερνήτη καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ στρατηγῷ, καὶ οἱ κάμνοντες δὴ τῶν ἰατρῶν διὰ τοῦτο πείθονται. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἅττα προστάττουσιν οὗτοι ἢ τὰ συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς· οἱ δέ γε δεσπόται τοῖς δούλοις οὐ ταῦτα[1] ἐπιτάττουσιν ἃ ἐκείνοις συνοίσει, 10 ἀλλ' ὅπερ αὐτοῖς οἴονται λυσιτελεῖν· τί δή, ἀρά γε συμφέρει τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸ τεθνάναι τὸν οἰκέτην ἢ νοσεῖν ἢ πάσχειν εἶναι, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον, οἶμαι, τό τε ζῆν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ χρηστὸν εἶναι· τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα φαίνεται καὶ τῷ οἰκέτῃ συμφέροντα· ὥστε καὶ τῷ οἰκέτῃ ὁ δεσπότης οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἅπερ ἔχει κοῦν, τὰ συμφέροντα ἐκείνῳ προστάξει· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ φαίνεται συμφέρειν.

11 Ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἂν τις ἀργύριον καταβάλῃ, οὗτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης δοῦλος ἐστιν.

Οὐκοῦν πολλοὶ περὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐλευθέρων καταβεβλήκασιν ἀργύριον, οἱ μὲν πολέμους, οἱ δὲ ληταῖς λύτρα διδόντες, οἱ δέ τινες τὴν αὐτῶν τιμὴν καταβεβλήκασι τοῖς δεσπόταις, καὶ οὐ δήπου δοῦλοι εἰσιν οὗτοι αὐτῶν.

12 Ἀλλὰ μὴν δεῖν ἔξεστι ἑτέρῳ μαστιγοῦσθαι καὶ δεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνιᾶν καὶ ἄλλο ὅ τι ἂν βούληται ἐργάσασθαι, οὗτος ἐκείνου δοῦλός ἐστιν.

Τί δέ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῖς ληταῖς ταῦτα ποιεῖν τοὺς ληφθέντας, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον οὐ δοῦλοί εἰσιν· τί δέ, τοῖς δικασταῖς οὐκ ἔξεστι τιμᾶν

[1] ταῦτα Reiske: τὰ αὐτά.

[1] For the argument that it is of advantage for the slave to have a master just as it is for the master to have a slave, cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, cap. 6.

on shipboard obey the captain and soldiers their general, and that the sick for this reason give heed to their physicians, for they prescribe nothing but what is for the advantage of their patients. But masters, they were asserted, do not make their slaves to do what is beneficial, but what they think will be of profit to themselves. Was there, then, not to the master's advantage that his servant should die or be [illegible] a slave? No one would say so, but would affirm that the contrary is to his advantage, namely that he should be present and well, and should be an honest man. And [illegible] found to be for the advantage of the servant as well, so that the master, if indeed he is wise, will order his servant to do that which is equally to the servant's advantage. For that will prove to be of advantage to himself as well.[1]

Dio: The man for whom one pays down money is of necessity a slave.

Ath. But have not many men paid down money for many who are free, when they have paid a ransom, at one time to enemies, at another to pirates, and some few have paid their own value to their masters? And yet surely these last are not slaves to themselves.

No, but whoever another has the power to have a man scourged or imprisoned or put to death, or have anything else done to him that he wishes, then that man is the slave of the other.

Dio. How is that? Do not pirates have the power to treat the men they have captured in this way? And yet none the less the captives are not slaves. Then again, have not judges the power to impose

[1] At Athens and Rome slaves could buy their freedom.

καὶ δεσμοῦ καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἄλλου ὅτου ἂν βούλωνται πολλοῖς τῶν κρινομένων, καὶ οὐ δήπου δοῦλοι εἰσιν οὗτοι· εἰ δὲ μιᾶν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ κρίνεται ἕκαστος, οὐδὲν τοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ μίαν ἡμέραν ἤδη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι δοῦλος.

13 Ἀλλὰ μήν ἐπὶ λόγῳ συλλαβόντα χρὴ ἀποφήνασθαι ὡς ὅτῳ μὲν ἔξεστιν ὃ βούλεται πράττειν, ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν, ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ ἔξεστι, δοῦλος.

Οὐ δὴ[1] ἐπὶ τῶν πλεόντων οὐδὲ τῶν καμνόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατευομένων οὐδὲ τῶν μανθανόντων γράμματα ἢ κιθαρίζειν ἢ παλαίειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ τέχνην ἐρεῖς αὐτὸ· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι τούτοις πράττειν ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὅ τε κυβερνήτης καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ διδάσκαλος προστάττει[2]· οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξεστιν ἃ ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς κειμένους πράττῃ, ζημιώσεται.

14 Οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὴ ἀπείρηται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων μηδὲ προστέτακται, ὁ περὶ τούτων ἔχων αὐτὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν ὡς βούλεται ἢ μὴ ἐλεύθερος, ὁ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀδύνατος δοῦλος.

Τί δέ[3], οἶει σοι ἐξεῖναι, ὅσα μὴ ἀπείρηται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἐγγράφως, αἰσχρὰ δὲ ἄλλως δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἄτοπα· λέγω δὲ οἷον τελωνεῖν ἢ πορνοβοσκεῖν ἢ ἄλλα ὅμοια πράττειν;

Οὐ μὰ Δία φαίην ἄν οὐδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξεῖναι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἐπίκειται

[1] οὐ δὴ Ἀτταίνω : οὐδ'. [2] προστάττει Valesius : πράττει.
[3] δὲ Dindorf : δεῖ.

the penalty of imprisonment or death or anything else they wish upon many of those who are before them for trial? And yet surely these men are not slaves. But if they are slaves for the one day during which they each are on trial, this means nothing — for is a man really ever said to have been a slave for one day?

But surely we may put the matter briefly and declare that whoever has the power to do whatever he wishes is free, and that whoever has not that power is a slave.

Dio. No, you cannot say this in the case of those on board ship nor of the sick either, nor of those serving in the field, nor of those learning to read and write or to play the harp or to wrestle or to acquire any other art, for these have not the right to follow their own preferences but must act as the captain, physician, or teacher, as the case may be, instructs. If that is so, then men in general are not allowed to do what they wish, but if they violate the established laws, they will be punished.

Then I say that the man who has the power to act or not, just as he pleases, in regard to those matters which are not forbidden by the laws or enjoined by them, is free, and that the man who on the contrary lacks that power is a slave.

Dio. We, then, do you think that it is permitted to you to do all things, which, while they are not expressly forbidden by the laws, yet are regarded as base and unseemly by mankind? I mean, for example, collecting taxes, or keeping a brothel, or doing other such things

—O no, indeed. I should say that it is not permissible for the free to do such things either. And

ζημία τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἢ δυσχεραίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

15 Τί δέ; τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἀνθρώποις, ὅσα ποιοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις, ὅσα διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν,[1] ἢ οὐσίας ἀμελοῦντες ἢ σώματος ἢ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀγνωμόνως προσφερόμενοι ἀλλήλοις, οὐ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπιζήμια τοῖς ποιοῦσίν ἐστιν; ἢ γὰρ εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν ἢ τὸ μέγιστον τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν αὐτῶν βλάπτονται.

Τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθὲς λέγεις.

Οὔκουν[2] οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔξεστι πράττειν;

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

10 Ἑνὶ δὴ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν φαῦλα καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ ἀσύμφορα οὐκ ἔξεστι πράττειν, τὰ δὲ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ χρὴ φάναι ὅτι προσήκει τε καὶ ἔξεστιν.

Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.

Οὐκοῦν οὐδενὶ τά τε φαῦλα καὶ ἀσύμφορα ποιεῖν ἀζήμιόν ἐστιν οὔτε Ἕλληνι οὔτε βαρβάρῳ . . .[3] οὔτε ὑπὲρ ὅτου τις τιμὴν δέδωκεν ἀργύριον,

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

Τὰ δέ γε ἐναντία πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐφεῖται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐφειμένα πράττοντες ἀζήμιοι διατελ-
17 οῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ κεκωλυμένα ζημιοῦνται. ἄλλοι οὖν δοκοῦσί σοι πράττειν ἃ ἔξεστιν ἢ οἱ ἐπισταμένοι ταῦτα, καὶ ἄλλοι τἀναντία ἢ οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες,

Οὐδαμῶς.

[1] ἄγνοιαν Capps ἄνοιαν.
[2] οὔκουν Dindorf οὐκοῦν.
[3] After βαρβάρῳ Arnim supposes a lacuna in which Dio opposed the buyer to the man who was bought with money

indeed for these acts the penalty fixed is to be hated or abominated by men.

Dio. Well then, in the case of intemperate men, whatever acts they commit by reason of their intemperance, and in the case of the ignorant all that they do owing to their ignorance in neglecting either their property or their person or in treating their fellows unjustly and inconsiderately, do not all these things impose a penalty upon those that do them? For they are injured either in their person or in their property or, most serious of all, in their own soul.

—What you now say is true.

Dio. Therefore it is not permissible to do these things either?

—No, certainly not.

Dio. In a word, then, it is not permissible to do mean and unseemly and unprofitable things, but things that are just and profitable and good we must say that it is both proper and permissible to do?

—It seems so to me at any rate.

Dio. Therefore no one may do that which is mean and unprofitable without suffering the penalty, whether he be Greek or barbarian, or a man for whom one has paid a price in cash?

—No, indeed.

Dio. But the opposite things are allowed to all alike, and those who do what is allowed continue free from penalty, while those who do what is forbidden are punished. Now do you think that any others do what is permissible except those who know what that is, or that any others do the opposite except those who do not know?

—Oh, no!

Οὐκοῦν οἱ φρόνιμοι ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἄφρονες ἃ βούλονται οὐκ ἐξόν ἐπιχειροῦσι πράττειν· ὥστε ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν φρονίμους ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὡς ἐθέλουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοήτους δούλους τε εἶναι καὶ ἃ μὴ ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

Ἴσως

18 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χρὴ λέγειν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐφειμένων[1] καὶ τῶν κεκωλυμένων, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν ἄγνοιαν[2] ὧν τε ἔξεστι καὶ ὧν μή. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ λόγου οὐδὲν ἂν κωλύοι τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα πάνυ μεγάλην τιμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα δοῦλον εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ πράττειν μηδὲν ὧν ποιεῖ· πάντα γὰρ ἐπιζημίως καὶ ἀσυμφόρως πράξει· ἄλλον δέ τινι δοῦλον δοκοῦντα καὶ ὀνομαζόμενον, οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ὧν οὕτω τύχῃ, πεπραμένον, εἰ δι ἄρα τοῦτο συμβαίνοι, πέδας πάνυ παχεῖας ἔχοντα, μᾶλλον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

19 Ἐμοὶ μὲν σφόδρα δοκεῖ ἄτοπον, εἰ πέδας ἔχων τις ἢ ἐστιγμένος ἢ ἐν μυλῶνι ἁλῶν ἐλεύθερος ἔσται μᾶλλον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

Τί δέ, ἐν Θρᾴκῃ γενόμενος;

Ἔγωγε.

Ἑωρακας οὖν ἐκεῖ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἐλευθέρας στιγμάτων μεστάς, καὶ τοσούτῳ πλείονα ἔχουσας στίγματα καὶ ποικιλώτερα ὅσῳ ἂν βελτίους καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων δοκῶσιν;

[1] ἐφειμένων Reiske: ἐφιεμένων. [2] ἄγνοιαν T, ἄνοιαν UBM.
[3] δοκοῦσιν Emperius: δοκοῦσιν.

[1] On the Thracians see Herodotus 5. 6, Clearchus in Athenaeus 524 d, Phanocles 25 2. Just as in Discourse 10. 30 136

Dio. Therefore the wise are permitted to do anything whatsoever they wish, while the foolish attempt to do what they wish although it is not permissible, so that it follows of necessity that while the wise are free and are allowed to act as they wish, the ignorant are slaves and do that which is not allowable for them?

—Perhaps

Dio. Therefore we are forced to define freedom as the knowledge of what is allowable and what is forbidden, and slavery as ignorance of what is allowed and what is not. According to this definition there is nothing to prevent the Great King, whose wearing a very [illegible] upon his head, from being a slave and not being allowed to do anything that he does, for every act that he performs will bring a penalty and be unprofitable. But some other man who is regarded as a slave and is so called, who has not once but often, if it so chance, been sold, and if it should so happen, wears very heavy fetters, will be more free than the Great King.

To me it appears exceedingly strange that one who wears fetters or has been branded or who grinds in a mill will be more free than the Great King.

Dio. Well, now have you ever been in Thrace?

—Yes.

Dio. Then you have seen the women there, the free woman, covered with branded marks, and having the more such marks and the more elaborate in proportion to their social standing and that of the families to which they belong?[1]

and 15–20, Dio refers to the custom of foreigners to prove his own view. To do this was a practice of the Cynics, as Weber, *De Dionis Chrysostomi Cynicorum Sectatore*, pp. 127–133, shows.

Τί οὖν δὴ τοῦτο;

20 Ὅτι βασιλεύσειν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐστημένην εἶναι βασιλέα δὲ οἷόν κωλύειν, εἰ τοίνυν οὐδὲ περὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθνους ἀκήκοας, παρ' οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν πύργῳ πάνυ ὑψηλῷ φυλάττεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου, εἰ δέ γε ἀκήκοας, ἠπίστει ἂν ὅτι καὶ περιειργμένον ἔστιν εἶναι βασιλέα.[1] καὶ τυχὸν ἠκούσας ἂν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζοντας, εἰ διηγοῦ σὺ περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καὶ ἀπιστοῦντας ὅτι ἔστι τις βασιλεὺς περιελαυνόμενος ἐφ' ἅρματος καὶ ὅπου βούλεται ἀπιών.

Ἀλλὰ δεδεμένον οὐκ ἀποδείξεις βασιλέα.

21 Οὐ τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων τυχόν· ἐπεὶ ὅ γε τῶν θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτατος δέδεται, ὡς φασιν, εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν Ἡσιόδῳ τε καὶ Ὁμήρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις σοφοῖς ἀνδρασιν, οἱ περὶ Κρόνου ταῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ ἀδίκως παθόντα τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου καὶ φιλτάτου, δῆλον ὅτι ὡς βασιλικὰ καὶ συμφέροντα

22 ἐκείνῳ δρῶντος· οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ οὐδέποτ' ἂν οἰηθεῖεν πτωχὸν ἢ δεσμώτην ἢ ἄδικον γενέσθαι βασιλέα, καίτοι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἀκούοντες ὅτι πτωχὸς ὢν καὶ τοὺς μνηστῆρας αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ τῆς οἰκίας κύριος· ὁ δὲ

[1] περιειργμένον δεῖν εἶναι βασιλέα Reiske δεδεμένον ἔστιν εἶναι βασιλέα περιειργμένον

[1] A reference to the Mossynoecians, i.e. dwellers in mossyns or wooden towers, who lived on the south shore of the Euxine or Black Sea. See Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5. 4 and especially § 30, Diodorus Siculus 14. 30.

— Now, pray, what does this signify?

Dio. That, as it seems, there is nothing to prevent a queen from being a slave, but do you think that there is anything to prevent a king? And further, have you never heard of the tower where the king's boys were kept under guard in a very high tower and were not released from that tower? If you had heard, you would have understood that it is possible for a man to be king even if he is completely confined. And you might perhaps have heard that we people have sung such [illegible] had to say to the effect that [illegible] King and [illegible] are those that have [illegible] as a king who do [illegible] and [illegible] whenever he wishes.

— Now you cannot give an instance of a king who is in bonds.

Dio. No king of men, perhaps, and yet the King of the Gods is [illegible] bonds, they say, if we are to believe Hesiod and Homer and other men who tell the tale about Cronus and indeed he does not receive this treatment [illegible] a personal enemy, but, from, we must say, who would him dearest [illegible] this because it is [illegible] for a king and profitable to him. But they do not know this and would never imagine that a beggar or a prisoner or man without reputation was once king, although they hear that Odysseus, for all his being a wanderer and begging of the suitors, was none the less a king and the owner of the house,

[1] The reference is to Zeus, who, according to one version of the myth, [illegible] Cronus. According to another version, [illegible] the Titans, the sons of the giant [illegible] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 168 ff. Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 2. 70 ff.

Ἀντίνους καὶ ὁ Εὐρύμαχος, οὓς Ὅμηρος ὠνόμαζε βασιλέας, ἄθλιοι καὶ δυστυχεῖς· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀγνοοῦσι· σημεῖα δὲ αὐτοῖς περιτιθέασι τιάρας καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ διαδήματα, μὴ λάθωσι βασιλεῖς ὄντες· ὥσπερ οἶμαι, τοῖς βοσκήμασι χαρακτῆρας ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ δεσπόται, ὅπως
23 ἐπίσημα ἔστω. τοιγαροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὅπως μὲν ἕξει μόνος ὀρθὴν τὴν τιάραν ἐφόρουν, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτόν, ὡς οὐ καλὸν[1] οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐν τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων δύο εἶναι φορροῦντας ὀρθὰς[2] τιάρας· ὅπως δὲ τὴν γνώμην ὀρθὴν
24 ἕξει καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος φρονήσει αὐτοῦ[3] σοφώτερον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἔμελεν. μὴ οὖν, ὥσπερ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς τότε τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε σημεῖα, καὶ νῦν δέῃ[4] τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχειν σύμβολα καὶ βαδίζειν πῖλον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ δυνησόμεθα γνῶναι τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἢ τὸν δοῦλον.

[1] οὐ καλὸν Wilamowitz: οὐκ ἐνον.
[2] ὀρθὰς added by Casaubon.
[3] αὐτοῦ Capps: αὐτοῦ.
[4] δέῃ Emperius: δὴ BM, δεῖ U.

while Antinous and Eurymachus, whom Homer named 'kings,' were miserable and unfortunate wretches. But this, as I said, they do not know, and as badges of royalty they clothe themselves with tiaras and sceptres and crowns so that none may fail to know that they are kings, just as, I imagine, owners mark their cattle to make them easily distinguishable. This undoubtedly is the reason why the King of the Persians ordained that he alone should wear his tiara upright, and if anyone else did this, he straightway ordered his execution, in the belief that it was not good or advantageous that in the midst of so many myriads of people two men should wear tiaras upright, but that he should have his mind upright and that no one should have greater wisdom than himself, for this he had no concern. So I fear that just as in those days there were such symbols of royalty as we have described, so now also there ought to be similar badges to mark the free man, and that he ought to walk abroad wearing a felt skull-cap,[1] else we shall not be able to distinguish between the free man and the slave.

[1] The *pilleus*, the forerunner of the modern liberty-cap, was worn by the Roman freedmen as a mark of their newly acquired freedom and by all the people at the Saturnalia. Cf. also Persius 5. 106 *ad pillaea vocare*.

THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II

This Discourse, unlike the preceding one, deals with the distinction between freedom and slavery, and for the same reasons may be assigned to the period of Dio's exile or later. Dio begins by reporting an informal debate on this question between two men, who from §§ 3, 5, and 7 we may suppose were Athenians. At the end of their debate Dio in § 24 gives the reasoned opinion of the audience that when one human being gives lawful possession of another with the right to use him as he likes, then the second man is the slave of the first. After this the question is raised as to what constitutes valid possession.

The first speaker (indicated by the letter *A*) is just such another man as the slave Syriscus in the *Epitrepontes* of Menander. Both are vociferous aggressive debaters with a wealth of illustrations drawn from mythology and tragedy to enforce their points.

From an examination of Diogenes Laertius 2. 31, 5. 1, 5. 4, 6. 15 it has been inferred that Dio drew from Athenaeus for this Discourse. See Wegehaupt, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–55.

15. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ B

1 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔναγχος παρεγενόμην τισὶ διαμφισβητοῦσι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας, οὐκ ἐπὶ δικαστῶν οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, οὐτωσὶ δὲ κατ' οἰκίαν, ἐπὶ χρόνον πάμπολυν· καὶ παρῆσαν ἑκατέρῳ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι σπουδάζοντες· ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πρότερον ἀντιλέγοντες, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν· ἡττώμενος δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἕτερος καὶ διαπορῶν εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐτράπετο, ὥσπερ εἴωθε τοῦτο συμβαίνειν πολλάκις, καὶ ὠνείδισεν οὐχ ὡς[1] ἐλεύθερον ὄντα τὸν ἕτερον· καὶ ὃς πάνυ πρᾴως ἠνείδιασέ τε καὶ εἶπε.

2 Πόθεν δέ, ἔστιν, ὦ ἄριστε, εἰδέναι ὅστις δοῦλος ἢ ὅστις ἐλεύθερος,

Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη· ἐπίσταμαι γοῦν ἐμαυτὸν μὲν ἐλεύθερον ὄντα καὶ τούτους ἅπαντας, σοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν προσῆκον ἐλευθερίας.

Καί τινες τῶν παρόντων ἐγέλασαν, καὶ ὃς οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἠσχύνθη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι[2] ἀλεκτρυόνες πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν ἐπεγείρονται καὶ θαρροῦσιν, κἀκεῖνος ἐπηγέρθη καὶ ἐθάρρησε πρὸς τὴν λοιδορίαν, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὁπόθεν τοῦτο ἐπίσταται τό περί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνου.

[1] οὐχ ὡς successfully defended by Wilstrand.
[2] ἀνδρεῖοι Emperius. ἄνδρες οἱ M, nothing in UB.

THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II

RECENTLY, I assure you, I was present when two men were disputing at great length about slavery and freedom, not before judges or in the market-place, but at their ease at home, taking a long time about it, and each of the two men had a considerable number of warm adherents. For they had been debating other questions before that, as is my impression, and the one who was worsted in the debate, being at a loss for arguments, became abusive, as often happens in such cases, and taunted the other with not being a freeman. Whereupon the first very gently smiled and said

A "But how can you say that? Is it possible, my good friend, to know who is a slave, or who is free?"

B "Yes, it certainly is," replied the other. "I know at any rate that I myself am free and that all these men here are, but that you have no lot or share in freedom."

At this some of those present laughed, and yet the first man was not one whit more abashed, but just as gallant cocks are aroused at the blow of their masters and take courage, so he too was aroused and took courage at the insult, and asked his opponent where he got his knowledge about the two of them.

3 Ὅτι, ἔφη, τὸν μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐπίσταμαι Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, τοι δὲ σὸν οἰκέτην τοῦ δεῖνος, εἰπὼν τοὔνομα.

Καὶ ὅς, Τί οὖν, εἶπε, κατὰ τοῦτο κωλύει με ἐν Κυνοσάργει ἀλείφεσθαι μετὰ τῶν νόθων, εἴπερ ἐκ μητρὸς ἐλευθέρας, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἀστῆς, τυγχάνω γεγονὼς καὶ πατρὸς οὗ σὺ φῄς; ἢ οὐ πολλαὶ ἀσταὶ γυναῖκες δι' ἐρημίαν τε καὶ ἀπορίαν αἱ μὲν ἐκ ξένων ἐκύησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐκ δούλων, τινὲς μὲν ἀγνοοῦσαι τοῦτο τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάμεναι, καὶ οὐδεὶς δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν οὕτως γεννηθέντων

4 Ἀλλ' ἐγώ σου, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐπίσταμαι ὁμόδουλον τοῦ πατρός.

Εἶεν, ἔφη· τὴν δὲ σαυτοῦ οἶσθα;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν· ἀστὴν ἐξ ἀστῶν καὶ προῖκα ἱκανὴν ἐπενηνεγμένην.

Ἦ καὶ ἔχοις ἂν ὀμόσας εἰπεῖν ὅτι[1] ἐξ οὗ φησω ἐκείνη, ἐκ τούτου γεγονας; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τηλέμαχος οὐ πάνυ ἠξίου διατείνεσθαι ὑπὲρ Πηνελόπης τῆς Ἰκαρίου, σφόδρα σώφρονος δοκούσης γυναικός, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἀποφαινουσα αὐτοῦ πατέρα· σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον

[1] ὅτι Cobet; εἰ M, nothing in UB.

[1] A gymnasium sacred to Heracles which was outside of Athens and for the use of those who were not of pure Athenian blood. Here Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, taught. Since bastards no longer used this gymnasium in the time of Demosthenes (see Hirzel, *Der Dialog* 2. 103. 3 for references), the assumed time of this dialogue is to be thought of as earlier.

B Because, said he "I know that my father is an Athenian, if any man is, while yours is the slave of so-and-so,' mentioning his name.

A 'According to this, then," said the first man, "what is to prevent me from anointing myself in the Cynosarges[1] along with the bastards, if I really am the son of a free-born mother—who is, perhaps, a citizen into the bargain—and of the father whom you mention? Have not many women who are citizens, embarrassed by the scarcity of eligible men, been got with child either by foreigners or by slaves, sometimes not knowing the fact, but sometimes also with full knowledge of it? And of the children thus begotten none is a slave, but only a non-Athenian.'[2]

"Well, in your case," he rejoined, "I myself know that your mother is a slave in the same household as your father.'

"Very well," said the first man, 'Do you know who your own mother is?'

'Why certainly, a citizen born of citizens, who brought to her husband a pretty good dowry too.'

"Could you actually take your oath that you are the son of the father of whom she says that you are? Telemachus, you know, did not care at all to insist in support of Penelope, the daughter of Icarius, who was regarded as a very chaste woman, that she spoke the truth when she declared that Odysseus was his father.[3] But you, not only in support of yourself

[1] In 451-0 B.C. the Athenians passed a law that no child should be admitted to citizenship whose father and mother were not Athenian citizens married in accordance with the laws.

[2] See Homer, *Odyssey* I 215 ff.

ἀνὴρ σαυτοῦ ἂν[1] καὶ τῆς σῆς μητρὸς, ἐὰν κελεύσῃ σε τις ὀμόσαι, ὡς[2] ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ δουλῆς ἡτιῶνοῦν, ἐξ ἧς ἐστιν ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ ἡν
5 λέγεις ἐμὴν εἶναι μητέρα· ἀδύνατον γὰρ σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐξ ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς κύπρι ἐλευθέρου ἢ καὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς δεσπότου, οὐ πολλοὶ Ἀθηναίων συγγιγνόμενοι θεραπαίναις αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τινὲς κρυφῆ, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερῶς, οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν βελτίονες εἰσὶ πάντες τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ὃς οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰφίκλου δούλῃ συγγενέσθαι ἀπηξίωσεν, ἐξ ἧς ἐγένοντο
6 οἱ Λαβδάκου βασιλεῖς· ἔτι δὲ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, ὦ ἑταῖρε, Κλυταιμνήστρα, Τυνδάρεω μὲν θυγατὴρ, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονος, μὴ μόνον Ἀγαμέμνονι συνεῖναι τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπιδεμνήσαντος ἐκείνου Αἰγίσθῳ συγγενέσθαι, καὶ Ἀερόπη ἡ Ἀτρέως γυνὴ τὴν Θυέστου προσδεξασθῆναι ὁμιλίαν, καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες ἑτέροις συγγίγνεσθαι καὶ παῖδας ἔνιοι ἐξ ἐκείνων ποιεῖσθαι, ἢν δὲ σὺ λέγεις θεράπαιναν οὕτως ἦν ἀκριβῶς φυλάττειν τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, ὥστε μὴ ἂν ἑτέρῳ
7 συγγενέσθαι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ διαβεβαιοῦ ὡς ἑκάτερος ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τῆς δικαίας καὶ λεγομένης μητρὸς· καίτοι πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν νῦν γεγονότων, οὐ ἑκάτερον ὕστερον οὐ μόνον πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μητρὸς, οὐχ ἧς ἐλέγετο, ἐκβεβλημένοι πόθεν

[1] ἂν Gael ἄλλα ΓΠ nothing in M.
[2] ὡμόσαι ὡς Gael ὀμόσαι ἔοικε

[1] See Herodotus i. 7

and of our mother would take with apparently. If any one should be [illegible] but in regard to any [illegible] woman as to who the man was by whom she was [illegible] with child, such a slave woman as you say that our mother was. Pray, does it seem to you possible that she should have been [illegible] with child by some other man, if she was in every, by her own master? [illegible] Alcmaeon [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible], but others [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] Heracles, who did not think it beneath him to have intercourse even with the slave woman of Eurystheus, became the mother of the kings of Sparta? [illegible] [illegible] the daughter of [illegible] and the wife of Amphitryon, [illegible] lived with Amphitryon her own husband, but [illegible] when he was away and [illegible] with Zeus, [illegible] that Leda, the wife of Tyndareus, accepted the advances of Zeus, and that many other wives of distinguished and wealthy men in both ancient and modern times have had intercourse with other men and sometimes have had children by them. But she who you say was a maiden, and was so apparently faithful to her own husband, that she would not have had intercourse with any other man. And further, in regard to yourself and me as well, you asseverate that each of us was born of the woman who is reputed to be and is called our mother. And yet you might name many Athenians, and very prominent ones too, who turned out after not only not to have been the sons of the father but not even those of the mother to whom they were attributed, having been supposititious children of unknown origin, who had

τραφέντες καὶ ταῦτα οὐ ἑκάστοτε ὁρᾶς δεικνυμένα καὶ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς καὶ ὅλως οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἰσχυρίζονται καὶ περὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὡς οὐ
8 εἶδες ὅτιοῦν γεγενημένον καὶ ἐκ τούτων οἷόν τε εἶναι, ἔφη, ὅτι κακὸν τοιοῦτο[1] δίδωσιν ὁ τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, ὃς ἂν ῥᾴστῃ ἢ τινα οὐκ ἔχων ἀποδεῖξαι περὶ οὗ λέγει παθὼν οὐδέν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς γοῦν ἔφη ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἄλλοθεν γενοίμεθα ἀνθρωποειδεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅταν μὴ δυνώμεθα αὐτοὺς κτᾶσθαι, βουλοίμην, κατασχὼν ἕκαστον τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἂν μιῶναι ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοὺς παῖδας βρέφους[2] τὰς δὲ δούλας τιμωμένας, τὰς μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τόκου διαφθειρούσας, τὰς δὲ ὑστερον οὐκ δυνάμενας λαθεῖν τὸ γεγονὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν[3] καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναιδέστατα, ὅπως μὴ πρᾶγμα ἔχωσι παιδοτροφεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι πρὸς τὴν δεσπότιν.

9 Νὴ μὰ Δία, ἔφη, κἄν γε τῆς Οἰνέως τοῦ Πανδίονος, εἶπε, κἄν παῖδες ἦσαν· γὰρ ἐκεῖνον νόμον ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ἠλειθυίας καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ τοῦ νομίμου οἱ μόνον οὐκ ἐξετίθεσαν αὐτὸν γεννῶσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοθεν εὑρόντες ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ παῖδα, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου ποτὲ ἦν, ἀνελόμενοι ἐτρέφον ὡς αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐκόντες ἐξόν τοῦ ὁμολογοῦσαν ὅτι ἄλλοθεν ἦν σὺ

[1] [illegible] Palatinus [illegible]
[2] [illegible] W [illegible]
[3] [illegible] Dor [illegible]

[1] Pandion, son of Cecrops, had a natural son Oeneus. See Apollodorus 3. 14. 1, Pausanias 1. 5. 3, Euripides, *Heraclidae* 600.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

δ' ἴσως καὶ τὸν Ζῆθον καὶ τὴν Ἀμφίονα ἐλοιδόρεις ἄν, πρὶν φανεροὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ διώμνυσα ὡς περὶ δούλων τῶν τοῦ Διὸς υἱέων

10 Καὶ ὃς γελάσας πάνυ εἰρωνικῶς, Τοὺς τραγῳδούς, ἔφη, καλεῖς μάρτυρας;

Οἷς γε πιστεύουσιν, εἶπον, οἱ Ἕλληνες· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἥρωας, τούτους φανέντας ἀναγιζόντες ὡς ἥρωσι· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκείνοις ὠκοδομημένα ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· ὅμοιον[1] δὲ εἰκότως, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τὴν Φρύγιον τὴν Ἱππαίου δούλην, ἣ τὸν Ἀλεξίνδρου ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ ἔλεγον ὡς αὐτῆς υἱέα, λαβοῦσα παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βουκόλου ἀστὸς, καὶ τὴν παιδοτροφίαν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν· Τήλεφον δὲ τὸν Αὐγῆς καὶ Ἡρακλείους οὐχ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἐλάφου τραφῆναι λέγουσιν· ἢ δοκεῖ σοι ἔλαφος μᾶλλον ἐλεήσαι ἂν βρέφος καὶ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τρέφειν ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τύχῃ

11 δουλὴ οὖσα, φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, εἰ δὲ δὴ προσομολογήσαιμι σοι τούτους εἶναι μου γόνους, οὐχ οὗτοι φήσ, πόθεν οἶσθα περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων δουλείας, ἢ καὶ τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἤκουσα σαφῶς καὶ ἕτοιμος εἶ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων κατομνύσθαι ἑκατέρου ὅτι ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δούλων γεγόνασιν ἀμφοτέρου, καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρότερον καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπαντας,

[1] ὁμοίως Wilamowitz ὅμως.

[1] Antiope became with child by Zeus, and while imprisoned at Eleutherae gave birth to twin sons, Amphion and Zethus, who were exposed. They were found and reared by herdsmen and her wife. Dio here is apparently our only authority for believing that they were the slaves of Oenous. According to Hyginus (*Fabulae* 7) it was not a single shepherd but shepherds who found the children. See also Apollodorus 3. 5. 5.

perhaps, would have abused both Zethus and Amphion before their identity became known, and would have sworn solemn oath that the sons of Zeus were slaves."[1]

B Then his opponent laughed very musically and said "Aha! is it the tragic poets to whom you appeal as witnesses?"

A "Yes, indeed," said the other man, "for the Greeks have confidence in them; for whenever these poets exhibit as heroes to them you will find all Greeks admiring such men as heroes, and you may see with your own eyes the shrines which the people have erected in their honour. And in the same manner consider, if you please, the Phrygian woman, who was the slave of Priam, who reared Alexander on Mount Ida as her own son after taking him from his father's hand, who was a herdsman, and a slave, or object of pity, rearing the child. And Iphicrates, the son of Antiphon and Hermaeus, the nay was not reared by a woman but by a hind. Or do you think that a hind would have more compassion on a babe and desire to rear it than a human being would if she happened to be a slave? Come now, in Heaven's name, if I should go so far as to admit to you that my parents are those whom you say they are, how can you know that they are slaves? Or were you really sure who their parents were, and are you ready to take your solemn oath in regard to each of them also that both were born of two slaves—they and their progenitors back to the very beginning—all of them?[2] For it is

[1] Euripides wrote a famous play called *Antiope* to which the speaker *B* refers by [illegible] when he speaks of tragic poets.

[2] [illegible] says that every man has many slaves among his ancestors.

δῆλον γάρ ὡς ἅπερ ἐλεύθερος ἤ τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους, οὐκέτι οἷόν τε τοὺς ἀπ' ἐκείνου δούλους ὀρθῶς νομίζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν, ὦ βέλτιστε, ὥς φασιν, ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος εἶναί τι γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἄπειροι μὲν ἐλευθέροι γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τούτων οἱ δεδουλευκότες· καὶ νὴ Δία τύραννοι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δεσμῶται καὶ στιγματίαι καὶ κάπηλοι καὶ ὑποτοποι καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, ἅπαντες μὲν ἐργασίας, ἅπαντες δὲ βίους, ἁπάσας δὲ τύχας
12 καὶ ξυμφορὰς μετηλλαχότες· ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκεν τὰ τῶν ἡρώων λεγόμενα γένη εὐθὺς εἰς θεοὺς οἱ ποιηταὶ ἀναφέρουσιν, ὥστε μηκέτι ἀξιοῦσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ τινες γε πλείονας αὐτῶν φασιν ἐκ Διὸς γεγονέναι, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοῖς οἵ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ οἰκισταὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπώνυμοι εἰς τοιαῦτα ἐμπίπτωσιν ἃ δοκεῖ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀνοίδη εἶναι· ὥστε, εἴπερ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοι σοφώτεροι ἡμῶν φασιν, οὐδὲν ἂν μᾶλλον σοι[1] πρόσηκοι ἐλευθερίας κατὰ γένος ἢ ὀτρηρῶν τῶν σφόδρα δοκούντων οἰκετῶν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ σὺ θθωσεις ἀναγαγὼν εἰς Δία ἢ Ποσειδῶνα ἢ Ἀπόλλωνα τοὺς σαυτοῦ προγόνους· οὐδέ γε ἐμοὶ δουλείας.

13 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, τοῦ γένους καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἐῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ ἀστάθμητον εἶναι· ἴσως γάρ τοι ἀναφανήσῃ ὥσπερ Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζῆθος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου

[1] μᾶλλον σοὶ Arnim μᾶλλόν σοι

[1] See note 1, p. 183, *supra*.

[illegible] clear that if any member of a family is from birth [illegible] [illegible] to regard his descendants as slaves. And it is [illegible] may good or that from [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] members free and not fewer than those in [illegible] those who are in slavery [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

γνησίως· ἀλλὰ οἱ γε αὐτῶν πάντες ἐνιστάμεθα δουλεύοντα.

Ἰ. Δι, εἶπε, δοκοῦσί σοι πάντες οἱ δουλεύοντες δοῦλοι εἶναι,[1] ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες καὶ ἀδίκως δουλεύειν,[2] ὧν τινες ἤδη καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελθόντες ἀπέδειξαν ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἑαυτούς, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ ἀνέχονται μέχρι παντός, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀποδεῖξαι φανερῶς περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ οἷς ἂν μὴ[3] χαλεποὶ ὦσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῶν δεσ-
14 ποται. ἐπεὶ φέρε, Εὔμαιος, ὁ Κτησίου τοῦ Ὁρμένου ἀνδρὸς πάνυ ἐλευθέρου καὶ πλουσίου παῖς, οὐκ ἐδούλευεν ἐν Ἰθάκῃ παρ' Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Λαέρτῃ, καὶ ἐνῶν αὐτῷ ἀποκλεῖσαι πολλάκις οἰκάδε, εἰ ἐβούλετο, οὐδέποτε ἠξίωσε· τί δέ, Ἀθηναῖοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ληφθέντων οὐκ ἐδούλευον ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες, καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς μάχαις οἱ αἰεὶ αἰχμάλωτοι γιγνόμενοι, οἱ μὲν χρόνον τινὰ ἕως ἂν εὕρωσι
16 τοὺς λυσομένους, οἱ δὲ μέχρι παντός, ὁπότε καὶ ὁ Καλλίου υἱὸς ἔδοξε δουλεῦσαι πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Ἀμφίπολιν ἡττήθησαν· ὥστε καὶ ὕστερον διαφυγὼν

[1] εἶναι added by Capps. [2] δουλεύειν added by Cobet.
[3] μὴ added by Pflugk.

[1] Cf. Aristotle's argument in *Politics*, 7 ff., and 18 ff., where the illustration is given of free men who have been kidnapped into slavery.

[2] The faithful swineherd. See Homer, *Odyssey*, 15. 413 ff.

[3] Dio refers to the Athenians who were taken prisoner by the Syracusans in 413 B.C., when the Sicilian expedition was utterly defeated.

[4] This son of Callias is probably referred to in a fragment of Metagenes quoted in a scholium to Aristophanes, *Knights*

But as for you, your own self we all know that you are in a state of servitude.

A. What, said the first man, do you think that all those who are in a state of servitude are slaves? But are not many of these, although free men, yet held in servitude? Some of them have already paid out the money and proved that they are free, while others are endeavoring to the end, either because they have no clear proof of their freedom, or else because those who are called their masters are not harsh with them. Consider, for instance, the case of Euthydicus,[1] the son of Dionysius, son of Dionysius; he was the son of a man who was altogether free and of great wealth, but did he not serve as a slave in Lydia in the household of Odrysus and Lacritus? And yet, although he could, time and again, have saved himself by some, he had to wished, he never thought it worth while. What, did not many Athenians among those made prisoners in Sicily serve as slaves in Sicily and in the Peloponnese,[2] although they were free men, and of those taken captive from time to time in many other battles, some only for a time until they found men who would ransom them, and others to the very end? In the same period too, even the son of Laches[3] was thought to have been in servitude a long time in Thrace after the battle in which the Athenians suffered a defeat at Acanthus,[4] so that

1221 Frag. 13 Kock. Who is a citizen now except those the Wisdom of Solon instituted? [illegible]

[4] [illegible] mention is made elsewhere of a defeat of the Athenians at Acanthus. For aught [illegible] the year 424 B.C., when Brasidas abandoned the Athenian Quadrireme and went over to Brasidas.

καὶ ἀδικοῦντες πωφοῦνται τοῦ κλέους τοῦ
Κάλλιου καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχε τοῖς
ἐπιτρόποις, οὐδὲν μὲν ἄρα ὁ δῆμος ἐν γὰρ
οὐχ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρόποις Κάλλιου, τὴν δὲ ὄψιν
ὁ δῆμος τὴν τοῦ Κάλλιου μειρακίου. ὁ ἄνεμος δὲ
τῇ μικρᾷ τελευτήσας ἐπὶ δὲ τελευτῶν[1] ἀκριβῶς
καὶ γράμματα πρόσεστο· ἀλλὰ ἄνεμος γε μικρὸν
10 τοῦτο πεποιήκασιν ἐπεὶ καὶ[2] τὸ τῶν ἐνδεῶν δικαίωσιν
οὐκ ἀποστεροῦσιν πολλοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους· οὐ γὰρ τὸν μὲν Ἀθηναῖον τῆς ἄλλης κατὰ
πόλεμον καὶ Πέρσας ἀφεῖκεν ἢ καὶ τὴν Δία καὶ
εἰς Ἡρακλῆν ἢ Σωκλῆν ἀρθῆναι ἀπεμπολήσῃ,
φήσομεν ἐλεύθερον ἐστὶ δουλεύειν· καὶ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς
τὸν ἢ Ἰόλεω, μὴ μόνον δὲ ἐλεύθερον γενόμενον
ἐκεῖ δοῦλον ἔχει· ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦλον τοῦ τινος ἢ
δουλεύειν οὐκ [illegible] χ ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι
17 καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, εἰ νόμον παρὰ πολλοῖς
δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις, ὅτι φεύγει τὸν[3] δεῖνα γενόμενον
οὐκ ἐξ μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας· τὸν δὲ Κάλλιον
μὲν εἶναι ἔστιν τοῦ[4] εἶναι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
δὲ Ἡρακλῆς συμβὰν ἐπὶ γεγονότα ἀπὸ καὶ πολλοὺς
μαθητευόμενον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας
ἀπελαύνει ἄνευ ἄστεα[5] καὶ ὁ νόμος οὐ φησὶ
δουλεύειν γεγονότα τοῦ αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντα
18 τὸ δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲ ἀποστέρει τῶν θεῶν ἢ
τὸ ἐκείνου, ὅτι μὲ ἀφῆς ἐπιστάσθαι δουλεύοντα.

Τρεφόμενον ἄνευ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ

[1] [illegible] Morel [illegible]
[2] After καὶ the MSS have [illegible] which Wilamowitz deletes.
[3] [illegible] τὸν Morel, [illegible] Morel [illegible]
[4] [illegible] Καλλίου [illegible]
[5] [illegible] ἄστεα [illegible] is successfully defended by Wilamowitz.

when he escaped afterwards and reached home he said [illegible] to the estate left by [illegible] and caused a great deal of trouble to the most of his living in my opinion an injustice. For he was not the son of Cronus but his grandson [illegible] resembling the [illegible] of Cronus who did use his life in the [illegible] and besides he spoke [illegible] accurately and [illegible] read and write. But these have been [illegible] who have [illegible] for [illegible] even [illegible] are [illegible] he [illegible] time [illegible] many are free born [illegible] we have not [illegible] Athenian who is free born [illegible] made a [illegible] war and carried off a Persian [illegible] to Thrace or [illegible] Athenian Persian and any born there of free parents but even the son of some prince or king is brought here we also just admit that he is a free person. [illegible] he continued the law [illegible] have at Athens and in many other states as well which does not allow the man who was born a slave to enjoy the rights of a citizen. But the son of Cronus if he actually did escape from captivity on that occasion after reaching home from Thrace, even though he had spent many years there and had often been accosted by one who said that he ought to escape from Athens in secrecy so that there are [illegible] occasions where the law too denies that those who have been unjustly in servitude have thereby become slaves. In heaven's name I ask you what was that I did of which you have knowledge, or what is it that is done to me which justifies your saying that you know that I am in a state of slavery?

B. I know that you are being kept by your

ἀκολουθοῦντα ἐκείνῳ καὶ ποιοῦντα ὅ τι ποτ' ἐκεῖνος προστάττοι· εἰ δὲ μή, πεινῶντα.

Οὕτως μέν, ἔφη, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποφαίνεις δούλους τῶν πατέρων· καὶ γὰρ ἀκολουθοῦσι πολλοῖς τῶν πατέρων καὶ εἰς γυμνάσιον βαδίζουσι καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, καὶ τρέφονται παντὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων καὶ ποιοῦσι πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πείθονται ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνοι προστάττωσιν αὐτοῖς· καίτοι ἕνεκα τοῦ πείθεσθαι καὶ πληγὰς λαμβάνειν, καὶ τῶν γραμματιστῶν οἰκέτας φοιτᾷ τοῦς παρ' αὐτοῖς μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας δεσπότας εἶναι τῶν μαθητῶν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλο τι διδασκόντας· καὶ γὰρ προστάττουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τυπτοῦσι μὴ πειθομένους.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις διδασκάλοις ὅπως τοὺς μαθητὰς οὐδὲ ἀποδόσθαι οὐδὲ γε εἰς μίσθωσιν[1] ἐμβαλεῖν· τοῖς δὲ γε δεσπόταις ἔξεστι ταῦτα ἐφεῖμαι ἐστιν.

Ἴσως γὰρ οὖν οἶσθα ὅτι παρὰ πολλοῖς καὶ σφόδρα εἰνομουμένοις ταῦτα ἃ λέγεις ἔξεστι τοῖς πατράσι περὶ τοὺς υἱέας, καὶ δῶσι[2] ἂν βουλωνται, καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι, καὶ ὁ ἔτι[3] τούτων χαλεπωτέρον· ἐφεῖται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκτεῖναι μήτε κρίνοντας μήτε ἄλλως αἰτιασαμένους· ἀλλ' ὑμῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον οἱ[4] δοῦλοί εἰσι τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλὰ τίνες. εἰ δὲ δὴ ὅτι μάλιστα εὐδοκιμοῦν καὶ δοῦλος[5]

[1] μισθῶσι Dindorf: μίσθωσιν.
[2] δῶσι Wilstrand: δὴ καὶ.
[3] ἔτι Pflugk, τί ἔτι Wilamowitz: ὅ τι.
[4] οἱ added by Emperius.
[5] δοῦλος Reiske: δοῦλοι.

master dance attendance upon him, and do whatever he commands, or else take a beating.

A. According to that, said he first man, you can make out the sons who are the slaves of their fathers, for they dance attendance upon their fathers. Then if they are poor, we bring with them to the gymnasium or to dinner, and they without complaint are supported by their fathers and companions, are beaten by them, and they do any other thing their fathers give them. And as far as serving and being the school are concerned, you agree and assert that the sons who take care of their masters are the slaves of their servants and that the gymnastic trainers are the masters of their pupils, or else, when each according to what he commands to his pupils and treasures them when they are disobedient.

B. Indeed the latter rule of the other, but it is not permissible for the gymnastic instructors or for the other teachers to employ their pupils or to send them out to get them into the mire, but to serve masters in these things are a sound.

A. You be perhaps you do not know that in many states which have received laws good and fathers have all those powers which you mention in regard to their sons, and what is more, if they wish to do so, they may even imprison their sons, beat, and have a power even more terrible than any of these, for they actually are allowed to put their sons to death without any trial and even without bringing any accusation at all against them.[1] but also over the sons they are not their fathers slaves but their sons. And even if I was once in a state of slavery in the

[1] The early Romans too practiced this.

ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχον δικαίως, τί με, ἔφη, κωλύει νῦν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μηδενὸς ἔλαττον, σὲ δὲ αὖ τοὐναντίον, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἦσθα, δοῦλον εἶναι παντὸς μᾶλλον,

21 Ἐγὼ μέν, εἶπεν, οὐχ ὁρῶ ὅπως ἐλεύθερος ὢν δοῦλος ἔσομαι· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἐλεύθερον γεγονέναι, ἀφέντος τοῦ δεσπότου

Τί δέ, ὦ λῷστε, ἔφη, οὐθεὶς ἂν γένοιτο ἐλεύθερος μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἀφεθείς;

Πῶς γάρ; εἶπεν.

Ὅπως Ἀθηναίων ψηφισαμένων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην τοὺς συμπολεμήσοντας[1] οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, εἰ προὔβη ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ μὴ διελύσατο θᾶττον ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς αὐτούς, πολλοὶ ἂν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν οἰκετῶν ἢ μικροῦ πάντες ἐλεύθεροι ἦσαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἕκαστος ἀφεθείς.

Ἔστω τοῦτό γε, εἰ δημοσίᾳ σε ἡ πόλις ἐλευθερώσει.

22 Τί δέ; ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἄν σοι δοκῶ ἐλευθερῶσαι;

Εἴ γε ἀργυρίου ποθεν καταβάλοις τῷ δεσπότῃ.

Οὐ τοῦτόν φημι τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ ὅνπερ Κῦρος οὐ μόνον ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέρσας ἅπαντας ἠλευθέρωσε, τοσοῦτον ὄχλον, οὔτε ἀργύριον οὐδενὶ καταβαλὼν οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἀφεθείς. ἢ

[1] συμπολεμήσοντας Kayser : συμπολεμήσαντας.

[1] i.e., rather than the owner.

fullest sense of the term and had been a slave justly from the very beginning, what is to prevent me now, he continued, from being just as free as anybody else, and you in your turn, on the contrary, even if you most indisputably were the son of free parents, from being an out-and-out slave?

B For my part, rejoined the other, I do not see how I am to become a slave when, in fact, I am free; but as for you, it is not impossible that you have become free by your master's having emancipated you.

A "See here, my good fellow," said his antagonist, "would nobody get his freedom unless emancipated by his owner?"

B Why, how could anybody?" asked the other.

A "In the same way that, when the Athenians after the battle of Chaeronea passed a vote to the effect that those slaves who would help them in the war should receive their freedom, if the war had continued and Philip had not made peace with them too soon, many of the slaves at Atarneus, or rather practically all of them, would have been free without having been emancipated one at a time by their respective masters."

B Yes, let that be granted—if the state[1] is going to free you by taking official action.

A "But what have you to say to this? Do you not think that I could liberate myself?"

B "Yes, if you should raise the money somewhere to pay your master with.

A "That is not the method I mean, but the one by which Cyrus freed not only himself but also all the Persians, great host that they were, without paying down money to anyone or being set free by any master

οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι λυχνοφόρος[1] ἦν Κῦρος Ἀστυάγους, καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἡδυνήθη[2] καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἐλεύθερος ἅμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης,

Εἶεν· ἁμὲ δὲ πῶς φῄς δοῦλον ἂν γενέσθαι,

21 Ὅτι μυρίοι δήπου ἀποδίδοντα ἑαυτοὺς ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες, ὥστε δουλεύειν κατὰ συγγραφὴν ἐνίοτε ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις.

Τέως μὲν οὖν προσεῖχον τοῖς λόγοις οἱ παρόντες, ὡς οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένοις μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ παιδιᾶς· ὕστερον δὲ ἐφιλονείκουν, καὶ ἔδοκει ἄτοπον εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν ἔσται εἰπεῖν τεκμήριον, ᾧ τις ἀναμφιλόγως διακρινεῖ[3] τὸν δοῦλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἀλλ' εὐμαρὲς ἔσοιτο περὶ παντὸς
24 ἀμφισβητεῖν καὶ ἀντιλέγειν· ἀφεντες οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου σκοπεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δουλείας, ἐσκοποῦν ὅστις εἴη δοῦλος· καὶ ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς, ὃν ἄν τις κεκτημένος κυρίως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ἢ βοσκημάτων, ὥστε ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλεται, οὗτος ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαί τε καὶ εἶναι δοῦλος τοῦ κεκτημένου.

Πάλιν οὖν ἠμφισβήτει ὁ περὶ τῆς δουλείας

[1] λυχνοφόρος Herrbor: λυχνοποιός.
[2] ἡνίκα γ. ἐπεθυμήθη Emperius.
[3] διακρινεῖ Arn. m.: διακρίνει U, διακρίνῃ BM.

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[1] Cyrus the Great, who threw off the yoke of the Medes.

[2] The MSS. have "lampmaker" for which Herrbor proposed "lampbearer." We learn nothing of either function in the accounts of Cyrus. Cyrus was the ἀγχιστιδοῦς "daughter's son" of Astyages, King of the Medes.

Or do you not know that Cyrus[1] was the vassal[2] of Astyages and that when he gained power and he saw that the time was ripe for action he became both free and king of all Asia?

B: Yes, to be sure, I know it. But what do you mean by saying that I might become a slave?

A: I mean that great numbers of men, we may suppose, who are free born, are nevertheless so that they are slaves by contract, and at times on easy terms but the most severe imaginable.

Now up to this point the audience paid attention to the arguments, under the impression that they were not made so much in earnest as in jest. Yet afterwards they fell to wrangling and were inclined to the opinion that it was a strange thing if it was going to be impossible for a man to give any evidence by which the slave could be uniquely and distinguished from the free man, but that it would be easy to debate and argue about every individual case. So they dropped their discussion about the particular man in question[3] and his slavery and proceeded to consider the general question. What is a slave? And the consensus of their opinion was that when anyone gets possession of a human being, in the strict meaning of that term, just as he might of any item of his goods or cattle, so as to have the right to use him as he chooses, then that man is both correctly called and in fact is the slave of the man into whose possession he has come.

Consequently, the man who had objected to being

[1] Educated Greeks would have thought of themselves not as companions in wealth, fortune and other pursuits very amusing stories.

[2] The lord of the two dependants.

ἀντιλέγων ὅ τι ποτὲ εἴη τὸ κύριον τῆς κτή-
25 σεως· καὶ γὰρ οἰκίαν καὶ χωρίον καὶ ἵππον καὶ βοῦν πολλοὺς ἤδη φανῆναι τῶν κεκτημένων πολὺν χρόνον οὐ δικαίως ἔχοντας, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρειληφότας· οὕτως δὴ καὶ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἀδίκως κεκτῆσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν κτωμένων ἀεί[1] τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξυμπαντα, οἱ μὲν παρ' ἄλλων[2] λαμβάνουσιν ἢ χαρισαμένου τινος ἢ κληρονομήσαντες ἢ πριάμενοι,[3] τινὲς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς παρὰ σφισι γεννηθέντας, οὓς οἰκογενεῖς καλοῦσιν· τρίτος δὲ κτήσεως τρόπος, ὅταν ἐν πολέμῳ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον ἢ καὶ λησάμενος, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔχῃ κατα-
δουλωσάμενος, ὅσπερ, οἶμαι, πρεσβύτατος ἁπάντων ἐστίν. τοὺς γὰρ πρώτους γενομένους δούλους οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐκ δούλων φῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ λῃστείας ἢ πολέμῳ[4] κρατηθέντας οὕτως ἀναγκασ-
30 θῆναι δουλεύειν τοῖς λαβοῦσιν· οὐκοῦν οὗτος ὁ παλαιότατος τρόπος, ἐξ οὗ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἤρτηνται, σφόδρα ἀσθενὴς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχων ἰσχυρόν· ὅταν γὰρ ποτε δυνηθῶσιν ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀποφυγεῖν, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐλευθέρους εἶναι αὐτούς, ὡς ἀδίκως δουλεύοντας· ὥστε οὐδὲ πρότερόν ποτε δοῦλοι ἦσαν. ἐνίοτε δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἀπέφυγον τὴν δουλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας κατεδουλώ-

[1] del Cobet: εἶναι.
[2] παρ' ἄλλων Reiske: γὰρ ἄλλως.
[3] κληρονομήσαντες ἢ πριάμενοι Reiske: κληρονομήσαντες ἢ πριάμενοι.

[illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

ἀεὶ τοῦ τοῦ ἐκείνου μετοικοῦντες ἅπαν γιγνόμενα τοιούτοις τῶν πρότερον

Εἴεν οὖν τις τῶν παρόντων ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτοὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἂν λεγοίατο δοῦλοι, τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγονόσι καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις καὶ τοῖς τρίτοις κύριοι ἂν τῷ προσήκοι τοῦ ὀνόματος

27 Καὶ πῶς, εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἁλίσκεσθαι ποιεῖ δουλεύειν, αὐτοὶς τοῖς ἁλοῦσι μᾶλλον τούτου προσήκοι ἂν ἢ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐκ δούλων γεγονέναι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ὄντες τῶν ἁλόντων οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἂν εἶεν δοῦλοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ δρῶμεν ἐκείνους Μεσσηνίους, δι' ἴσων ἐτῶν οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπο-
28 μισαντο τὴν αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Λεύκτροις ὑπὸ Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι, στρατεύσαντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἠνάγκασαν τήν τε χώραν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἀποδοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ' ἐκείνων γεγονότες, δουλεύοντας πρότερον παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις,[1] τοὺς Εἵλωτας λεγομένους, κατῴκισαν πάλιν εἰς Μεσσήνην· καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἧττον οὐδὲν πεποιήκασι τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως· ὥστε εἴπερ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος οὐ δίκαιος ἐστι τῆς κτήσεως, ἐξ οὗ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι, κινδυνεύει μηδὲ ἄλλος μηδεὶς εἶναι, μηδὲ τῷ ὄντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν δοῦλος λεγέσθαι.

[1] παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Reiske : γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

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[1] An expression derived from the game *ἀστραγαλοί*, played with shards *ὀστρακα* : cf. Baudet s. *ἀστραγαλοί* παιγνιῶν and vol. I., p. 218, footnote.

slavery. In the case also we have now found that [illegible] the slaying given their [illegible] completely reversed.

At the same time it is also interesting that [illegible] men who have served not be called slaves, and their children and those of the present and later generations should quite properly be so designated.

But the case that had [illegible] of being captured [illegible] when the [illegible] were [illegible] than their descendants [illegible] of [illegible] but be [illegible] of being [illegible] and [illegible] their descendants [illegible] Lacedaemon* after [illegible] years of [illegible] were recovered and [illegible] their freedom by their [illegible] as well. For when the [illegible] were defeated at Leuctra* by the Thebans, he after [illegible] the Peloponnese [illegible] by these allies and not only compelled the Spartans to give back the Messenian [illegible] but settled in Messenia again and the original Messenian descendants the Helots on their own [illegible] who had [illegible] been [illegible] to the Spartans. And not a man says that the Thebans therein acted [illegible] but all agree that altogether acted well. Consequently of this method of getting possession from which all the others take their beginning is not just, yet it is they that [illegible] is either and the term 'slave' does not in reality correspond to the truth.

* In 371 B.C.

30 Ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἡ λεγόμενος δὲ ἀρετὴ ὁ δοῦλος, ὅπερ ὅτου ἀγνοῶν τις τοῦ σώματος κατεφάλειν ἢ δι' ἃ ἐκ δούλων λεγομένων ἢ γεγένηται, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί[1] νομίζουσι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅσπερ ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπὴς· τῶν μὲν γὰρ λεγομένων δούλων πολλοὺς ὁμολογήσομεν ὅτι εἶναι ἐλευθέρους, τῶν δὲ γε ἐλευθέρων πολλοὺς πάνυ δουλοπρεπεῖς· ἔστι δὲ οὐκ περὶ[1] τοὺς γενναίους καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς· τούτους γὰρ οἱ δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀπωλεσαν τοὺς εὖ γεγενεῖς πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐδὲν πολυπραγμονήσαντες ἐκ τινῶν εἰσιν· ὕστερον δὲ οἱ δὲ τῶν πάλαι πλουσίων καὶ τῶν 31 ἐνδόξων ὑπὸ τινῶν εὐγενεῖς ἐπλήθυνεν· τούτου δὲ σημεῖον σαφέστατον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν κυνῶν διαμένει τὸ ὄνομα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὸ παλαιόν· ὁ γὰρ ἵππος[3] θεασάμενος θυμοειδὴς καὶ γαῦρος καὶ πρὸς δρόμον εὖ ἔχων οὐ πυθόμενος εἴτε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔτυχεν ὢν εἴτε ἐκ Μηδίας εἴτε Θεσσαλός, φησὶν εὐγενῆ τὸν ἵππον αὐτόν[4] κρίνων· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐμπειρος κυνῶν, ἐὰν κύων ᾖ τὴν τεχνικὴν καὶ πρόθυμος καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τὸ ἴχνος οὐδὲν ἐπιζητεῖ ποτέρου ἐκ Καρίας τὸ γένος ἢ Λακαίνης ἢ ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνθρ, ἀλλὰ φησὶ γενναῖον τὴν κύνα· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπ 31 ἀλεκτρυόνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων· οἰκοῦν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἔχει· ὥστε ὃς ἂν ᾖ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καλῶς γεγενῆσθαι, τούτῳ προσήκει

[1] ὡς πολλοὶ Reiske: ἀνελεύθερος
[2] ἔστι δὲ ὡς τοὺς ἐκ βασιλέων: ἔστι δὲ ὅτι
[3] ἵππος ὁ πολὺς Reiske
[4] αὐτὸν ἐκ βασιλέων εὐγενῆ: εὐγενῆ

"But perhaps it was not in the way that the term slave [illegible] applied, that is, to a person for whose body someone paid money, or, as the [illegible] thing, [illegible] who are sprung from persons who were [illegible] the [illegible] who [illegible] and use of a [illegible] nature. [illegible] who are [illegible] a prisoner, [illegible] that [illegible] are [illegible] who are [illegible] another [illegible] [illegible] are in the same with those [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] those who [illegible] applied [illegible] to persons who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] afterwards [illegible] generations of families of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

γενναῖον λέγεσθαι, κἂν μηθεὶς ἐπίστηται τοὺς γονέας αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τοὺς προγόνους

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐχ οἷόν τε γενναῖον μὲν εἶναί τινα, μὴ εὐγενῆ δὲ τοῦτον, οὐδ' εὐγενῆ ὄντα μὴ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀγεννῆ πᾶσα[1] ἀνάγκη δοῦλον εἶναι καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τὸ τῆς δουλείας ἔθος ἦν ἐπί τε ἵππων λέγεσθαι καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ κυνῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλους μὲν γενναίους εἶναι ἐλέγομεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλευθέρους, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν δούλους, ἄλλους δὲ ἀγεννεῖς.

32 Ὁμοίως δὴ καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἄλλους μὲν εἰκός ἐστι γενναίους καὶ εὐγενεῖς λέγειν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτούς, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ταπεινούς, ἄλλους δὲ δούλους

Καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἀποφαίνει ὁ λόγος οὐ τοὺς φιλοσόφους μεταφέροντας τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν.

[1] πᾶσα Reiske, πάντα.

to virtue, it is right to call him 'noble,' even if no one knows his parents or his ancestors either.

"But," you will object, "it is impossible for anyone to be 'noble' without being 'well-born' at the same time, or for one who is 'well-born' not to be free; hence we are absolutely obliged to conclude that it is the man of ignoble birth who is a slave.[1] For surely, if it were the custom to use the terms freedom and slavery with reference to horses and cocks and dogs, we should not call some 'noble' and others 'free,' nor say that some were 'slaves' while others were of 'ignoble' birth or breed.

In the same way, then, when we are speaking of men, it is not reasonable to call some 'noble' and 'well-born,' and others 'free', but we should make no distinction between the two classes. Nor is it reasonable either to say that some are of ignoble birth and mean, and that others are slaves.

"In this way, then, our argument shows that it is not the philosophers who misuse the terms but the common run of ignorant men, because they know nothing about the matter."

[1] Cf. a statement attributed to Socrates in Diogenes Laertius 2. 31. When a certain man said to him (i.e. Socrates) that Antisthenes was born of a Thracian mother, he replied, "Do you think that he would be so noble, if born of two Athenians? Οὐκοῦν εἰ δύο ἦν . . . οὐκ ἂν γενναῖος ἦν ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίοιν γενόμενος.

THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT

This Discourse, given in the form of an address (διάλεξις), would seem also to belong to the period of Dio's exile, because it was then that he needed the comfort which this discourse gives. He teaches the Stoic doctrine that since there are so many things in life to hurt us, we should fortify our spirits so as to be insensible to them.

Von Arnim (*Leben und Werke*, p. 267 ff.) draws attention to the fact that this Discourse, just like Discourses 4, 17, 24, 27, 68, 68, 69, 71, 72, and 80, begins by mentioning a common fault of ordinary men in order to combat it.

16 ΠΕΡΙ ΛΥΠΗΣ

1 Τὸ μὲν ὑφ' Ἡδονῆς κρατεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς αἰτίαν ἴσως ἔχει· κηλούμενοι γὰρ καὶ γοητευόμενοι παρὰ ταύτῃ μένουσι· τὸ δὲ Λύπῃ δεδουλῶσθαι παντελῶς ἄλογον καὶ θαυμαστόν· ὀδυνώμενοι γὰρ καὶ βασανιζόμενοι τῇ χαλεπωτάτῃ πασῶν βασάνῳ μένομεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ[1] ἐλευθεροῦντα ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντα τῆς ἀλγηδόνος οὐ προσιέμεθα. καίτοι τί μὲν ταπεινότερον ἀνδρὸς λυπουμένου, τί δὲ οὕτως αἰσχρὸν θέαμα, καθεικεῖται καὶ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῦτο συστέλλει καὶ
2 σκυθρωπὸν καὶ δυσειδὲς ὀφθῆναι παρέχει. τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον εἴκειν τῇ φορᾷ τῆς διανοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσμηχανᾶσθαί τινα ἔξωθεν, οἷον μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ συμπλοκὰς χειρῶν καὶ ταπεινὰς καθέδρας, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων πάντων ἀναγκάζεσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὴν διάνοιαν μηδέποτε ἀφίστασθαι τῆς λύπης, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ μνημονεύειν τοῦ[2] λυπεῖσθαι, διεγνωκότας δὴ[3] ἔοικέναι τινὰ ἀπαλλαγὴν τούτου καὶ μὴ πάντως ἀεὶ φανεῖσθαι[4] τινα αἰτίαν τοῦ
3 πάθους, οὐχὶ σφόδρα εὔηθες, ἢ γὰρ προσήκοντος θανάτου ἢ νόσου ἐκείνων τινός ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς δὲ

[1] τὸν added by Diadorf [2] τοῦ Cappa καὶ.
[3] δὴ Arnim μὴ.

THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT

That the majority of us are mastered by Pleasure can perhaps be explained: it is because we are under her spell and willingly that we stay in her company, whereas accepting servitude to Pain is altogether unpleasant and [illegible]. Even though suffering pain and agony from the severest of a [illegible] we nevertheless remain in it and do not accept the word of reason that frees and delivers us from our distress. And yet what more abominable [illegible] is there than a man who is bent on [illegible] to Pain? What gift is there so [illegible]? For it seems to me that in condition actually affects his body also and makes it shrunken and wasting and distorted in appearance. But this yielding to the mind's disturbance, and not only that but also the devising of certain external signs of [illegible] such as black raiment, wringing the hands, sitting in a dejected posture, so that by all these the mind is in a certain sense compelled never to get away from [illegible] pain and [illegible], but to be always conscious of being in pain, although we know perfectly well that there will be some relief from this and that there will not be found always and ever some cause for the suffering: is this not utterly [illegible]? For instance, either the death of a relative, or the illness of one of [illegible], or of [illegible] may

* [illegible] Dindorf [illegible]

τούτοις ἀδοξία, χρημάτων ἀποβολή, τὸ μὴ περᾶναι[1] τι τῶν προκειμένων ἢ[2] παρὰ τὸ δέον, ἀσχολία, κόπτοντος, μυρία ἄλλα ὅσα συμβαίνει κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνάγκη τούτων ἀεί τι παρεῖναι· τὸ δὲ τε-
6 λευταῖον, ἂν ἄρα γίγνηται[3] χρόνος ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἅπαντα δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προσδοκᾶν αὐτὰ καὶ γιγνώσκειν ὡς δυνατὸν ἐστι συμβῆναι, καταφεύγει τῆς γνώμης τῶν οὕτως διακειμένων· οἶκοι γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παραμυθίαν —ἀνήνυτον γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ λυπηρός ἐστιν ὁ βίος· ἄλλως δὲ ἐξέλοιντο τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ παθος καὶ τοῦτο κρίνοντα βεβαίως, ὅτι μὴ λυπητέον ἐστὶ περὶ μηδενὸς τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐλευθεριάζειν, καὶ πάντων ἔθεια τῶν δυσχερῶν ἔσται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστιν αὐτὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς ἡμετέρας γιγνο-
8 μένων τοιούτων· οἱ γοῦν πολλοί, ἢν[4] γένηταί τι τῶν νομιζομένων ἀτόπων, ἀεὶ τούτου μνημονεύουσι, δυσχέρειαν οὔσης τῆς μνήμης, ὅμοιον δή τι πάσχοντες τοῖς παιδίοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ πυρὸς ἅψασθαι προθυμεῖται, καίτοι σφόδρα ἀλγοῦντα, κἂν ἅψῃς, ἅπτεται πάλιν·
9 Ὥσπερ οὖν τοῖς εἰς πόλεμον ἐξιοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἐστιν ὄφελος, ἂν γυμνοὶ προελθόντες ἔπειτα ἕκαστον τῶν φερομένων βέλων ἐκκλίνειν ἐθέλωσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν φυλάττεσθαι πάντα, δεῖ δὲ θωρακος στερεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς, οὕτως, κἂν

[1] περᾶναι Emperius: παρεῖναι.
[2] ἢ Emperius: ἢ τὸ MSS. omitted by M.
[3] γίγνται Sauppe: γίγνωσκεται.
[4] ἢν. Jacobs: εἰν.

occur and besides these loss of reputation, a financial reverse, complete or partial failure in some undertaking, pressure of affairs, danger, and all the countless other misfortunes which occur in life and one of these is practically sure always to be present, and finally if after all a time does come when no trouble confronts me, yet all the same the constant expectation of such things and the knowledge that they may occur will as a load upon the mind of those who are of that temperament. Therefore one should not seek a special consolation for each of these troubles—for his task would be endless and life is full of painful things—but one should tear that mental state out of his own composition, get a firm hold on the truth that the intelligent man ought not to feel pain about anything whatever, and be a free man henceforth. I am here, will be release from dread of all that causes distress. For in fact there is nothing that in itself should cause fear. It is only false opinion and weakness on our part that make it so. The great majority, for instance, whenever any one of the things happen which are commonly regarded as untoward, very continually recalling that thing distressing though it be recollection is, their state of mind being something like that of children, who are bent on touching the fire for example, although they suffer great pain in doing so, yet if you give them permission they will do it again.

So just as when men go forth to war it is no use for them to march out without their armour and then merely hope to dodge each flying missile, for it is impossible to guard against them all, but the soldier needs a stout breastplate and his full panoply too,

ἡμέρᾳ τι, μὴ διαπεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν βίον προελθοῦσιν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐκκλίνειν οὐδὲ φυλάττεσθαι ὥστε ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πταισθῆναι τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης, μυρίων ἐφ' ἕκαστον φερομένων, ἀλλὰ διανοίας ἰσχυρᾶς ἐστιν ἡ χρεία, μάλιστα μὲν ἀτρώτου καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν εἰκούσης, εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ γε[1] ῥᾴδιως μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος τιτρωσκομένης· ἐπεὶ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη κεντεῖσθαι καὶ μυρία τραύ-
7 ματα λαμβάνειν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς ποδὰς ἔχοντες ἁπαλοὺς καὶ παντελῶς ἀτρίπτους, ἔπειτα γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς βαδίζοντες, οὐδέποτε τοιαύτην εὑρήσουσιν ὁδὸν ὥστε μὴ κυντᾶσθαι μηδὲ ἀλγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τυχὸν αὐτῶν ἅπτεται· τοῖς δὲ ἠσκηκόσιν οὐδὲ ἡ πάνυ τραχεῖα χαλεπή.

Τοσούτων οὖν δυσκόλων ὄντων ἀπὸ τῶν[2] τοῦ σώματος ἀρξαμένοις, τί δεῖ προσδοκᾶν, ἢ πῶς ἔνεστιν, ἐκείνων τούτων αἰσθανόμενον καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἐνδιδοντα μὴ κακοδαιμονιστατον ἅπαντων εἶναι, εἰ[3] προσευχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς ὅπως μὴ τοῦτο
8 μηδὲ τοῦτο συμβῇ, καθάπερ εἴ τις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πορευόμενος σκέπασμα μὲν ἔχοι μηδεν, εὔχοιτο δὲ μόνον ἕκαστον τῶν σταλαγμῶν διαφυγεῖν (πολὺ γοῦν τῶν σταλαγμῶν συνεχεστερά ἐστι τὰ δυσχερῆ τὰ[4] παρὰ τῆς τύχης), ἢ νὴ Δία εἴ τις πλέων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς οἴαξι προσέχειν καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον δεχεσθαι καλῶς εὔχοιτο μηδὲν τῶν κυμάτων κατὰ τὴν ναῦν γενέσθαι. φέρε γὰρ,

[1] κέ. μέ γε Reiske μέ γε, μέ.
[2] τῶν added by Capps
[3] εἰ added by Jacobs.
[4] τὰ added by Arnim.

so that even if a missile does strike him it may not penetrate—in the same way those who have marched out into life cannot possibly dodge or ward themselves so as not to be struck by any of fortune's darts, thousands of which are flying against each man, but what they need is a strong heart, perforation-proof and reading before no blow, or, if that may not be, at least one that is not easily wounded or by any ordinary blow, for otherwise it must often be stabbed and receive a thousand wounds. Well, those who have feet which are tender and not calloused at all by use and then attempt to walk with them bare, we never feel a road so smooth that their feet will not be gashed or in pain, but any stone lying hurts them, whereas for feet hardened by practice not even the roughest road causes trouble.

Therefore, since there are so many distressing things, beginning with those due of the body, what should anyone expect, or how is it possible for anyone who pays attention to each of them and casts about way to avoid being the most unhappy man alive, ever praying the gods that this or that may not happen? It is just as if a man should go out in a rain without any covering and should then merely to prayers for avoiding each single drop[1] and yet much thicker than the raindrops are the afflictions which fortune sends, or, rather, as if a man sailing a boat instead of giving up attention to the sailing gears and meeting manfully each oncoming wave, should pray that none might strike the ship.[2] Just

[1] For this figure cf. Demosthenes 9. 38.
[2] Cf. Demosthenes 9. 68.

ὦ μάταιε, κἂν πάντα σοι τἆλλα ἴῃ κατὰ τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν βιώσεσθαι τινα ἔχεις πίστιν κἂν μὴ μεταξὺ πάντων αθροως ἀφαιρεθῇναι τῶν δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν; οὐκοῦν σε περὶ τούτου πρώτου προσήκει λυπεῖσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι, τὴν ἀδηλότητα τοῦ πράγματος· ἂν δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἐννοηθῇς ὅτι μηδεὶς ἄλως ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου κύριος,[1] ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ μακάριοι καὶ λίαν εὐδαίμονες δοξαντες εἶναι τεθνήκασι καὶ σοὶ πάρεστιν ἤδη τοῦτο τὸ πέρας, κἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔλθῃς τοῦ βίου, πολὺν λῆρον ἡγήσῃ καὶ μεγάλην εὐήθειαν τὸ νομίζειν ἄλως τι δεινὸν εἶναι τῶν γιγνομένων ἢ μεγα ἢ θαυμαστόν, δίχα γε ἑνὸς τοῦ χωρὶς λύπης καὶ φόβου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν μίαν γοῦν ἡμέραν διαγαγεῖν.

10 Ἰὸν Ἰασονα φασι χρισαμενον[2] δυνάμει τινί, λαβόντα παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας, ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, μήτε παρα τοῦ δράκοντος μηδεν παθεῖν μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ταύρων τῶν τὸ πῦρ ἀναπνεόντων· ταύτην οὖν δεῖ κτήσασθαι τὴν δυναμιν παρὰ τῆς Μηδειας, τουτεστι τῆς φρονήσεως, λαβόντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἁπάντων καταφρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα πῦρ ἡμῖν καὶ πάντα ἄυπνοι δράκοντες.

[1] κύριος Wilamowitz : χρόνος.
[2] χρισάμενον Rosiko : χρησάμενον.

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[1] The king of the Colchians promised to give Jason the golden fleece if he would yoke to a plough two fire-breathing bulls and sow the dragon teeth which had not been used by Cadmus. From the king's daughter Medea, by promising to marry her and take her back to Greece with him, Jason got the magic salve which enabled him to resist fire and steel and put to sleep the dragon which guarded the golden fleece. This magic

think, you misguided man—even if everything else turns out as your heart wishes, yet what assurance have you of living even till the morrow, and not being suddenly, in the midst of everything, torn away from your fancied blessings? Consequently this is the first thing about which you should be in painful anxiety and fear—the uncertainty of everything. Yet if you have the wisdom to reflect that absolutely no man is master of his life but that all those who have been thought blessed and exceedingly fortunate are dead, and that this goal awaits you at any moment, even if you live to the ripest old age, you will consider it great nonsense and utter stupidity to imagine that anything at all which happens is terrible or great or marvellous, except this one achievement of living at least one day free from painful fretting fear, and similar emotions.

The story goes that the famous Jason anointed himself with a certain potent herb which he got from Medea, and it was after that, I fancy, that no harm came to him from either the dragon or the bulls which belched out fire. This, therefore, is the potent thing of which we should acquire possession, getting it from Medea, that is, from Meditation or Intelligence,[1] and then with our intelligence look with scorn thereafter upon all things. Otherwise everything will be fire for us and everything serpents dragons.

naive, or drug, was extracted from a plant with a saffron-coloured flower and to have sprung from Prometheus' blood. Cf. Apollodorus I. 9. 23 and Frazer's note in vol. I., p. 111 (L. C.).

[1] In Stobaeus 3. 29. 92 we read: "Diogenes used to say that Medea was wise, but not a sorceress," [illegible]

11 Καίτοι τῶν λυπουμένων ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς φησιν εἶναι δεινότατον καὶ μάλιστα ἄξιον λύπης· καὶ γὰρ τῶν φερόντων ἕκαστος, ὃ φέρει, τοῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖ βαρύτατον· ἔστι δὲ ἀσθενοῦς τοῦτο καὶ φαύλου σώματος· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἕτερος λαβὼν ἂν ἰσχυρότερος ῥᾳδίως οἴσει.[1]

[1] Sonny considered the final paragraph a fragment drawn from an essay by another author. Arnim believed that it is either (especially the last sentence) very corrupt or composed by another than Dio.

And yet every man who suffers pain and distress of spirit says that what has happened to himself is a most terrible thing and most worth grieving over, just as every person who carries a load imagines that what he is carrying is very heavy. But this really indicates a weak and sickly body, for another and stronger man will take and carry the same load easily.[1]

[1] Dio means that the man of strong spirit will endure the troubles of life easily, just as the man of strong body will carry a load easily.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON COVETOUSNESS

After saying by way of preface that men often know what is right, but still fail to do it and need to be admonished again and again, Dio proceeds to point out the evils that come in the train of covetousness, and the blessings that follow from contentment. In these strictures on covetousness he makes considerable use of that passage in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* where the poet speaks of the evils of ambition, thus apparently showing that he considered the two vices to be fundamentally one and the same.

17 ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΕΟΝΕΞΙΑΣ

1 Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ τούτων οἴονται δεῖν[1] λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἕκαστος οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ἀληθῆ δόξαν, ὅπως ἀκούσαντες ὑπερ ὧν ἀγνοοῦσι μάθωσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως φαινομένων περιττὸν εἶναι διδάσκειν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἑώρων ἡμᾶς οἷς νομίζομεν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἐμμένοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἔξωθεν πράττοντας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ᾤμην ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διατείνασθαι περὶ τῶν
2 προδήλων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τοσοῦτον ὁρῶ λυποῦσαν ὅσον τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων διαλογισμοῖς μηδὲ ἀκολουθεῖν οἷς ἔχομεν αὐτοὶ δόξαις, μεγάλην ὠφέλειαν ἡγοῦμαι τὸ συνεχῶς ἀναμιμνήσκειν καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου παρακαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἔργῳ τὸ προσῆκον.

Ὥσπερ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς καὶ τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὁρῶμεν πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ προστάττοντας, καίτοι τὸ πρῶτον ἀκηκοότων οἷς ἂν κελεύωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἀμελοῦντας αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ προσέχοντας βλέπωσιν, οὕτως καὶ κατὰ

[1] δεῖν added by Casaubon.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE ON COVETOUSNESS

THE majority of men think that they should speak only on those subjects concerning which the common man has not the true opinion, in order that they may hear and get guidance in the matters whereof they are ignorant; but regarding what is well known and patent to all alike, they think it superfluous to instruct. Yet for my own part, if I saw that we were holding to what we believe to be right and were doing nothing out of harmony with the view we already have,[1] I should not myself hold it necessary to insist on matters that are perfectly clear. However, since I observe that it is not our ignorance of the difference between good and evil that hurts us, so much as it is our failure to heed the dictates of reason on these matters and to be true to our personal opinions, I consider it most salutary to remind men of this without ceasing, and to appeal to their reason to give heed and in their acts to observe what is right and proper.

For instance, just as we see physicians and pilots repeating their orders time and again to those under their command, although they were heard the first time—but still they do so when they see them negligent and inattentive—so too in life it is

[1] For the interpretation here given to the phrase [illegible] cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 235.

τὸν βίον γεγονότων ἀεὶ γιγνόμεθα πολλάκις καὶ
τῶν αὐτῶν τὴν λοιπὴν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου[1] μετ' οἰ
πολλοὶ τὸ θεῖον, μὴ μέντοι πρόσεστιν· οὐ γὰρ
3 ἐστι τέλος οὔτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ γεγονέναι τὸ ὑπὲ
φύσιν οὐ τὸ πάλαι· ἐξ ἀν τὸ γιγνώσκειν ποιεῖ
γὰρ αὐτοὺς παρόντας τῶν ὑπάρχειν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις
τὸ μαθεῖν τε καὶ[2] ὠφελοῦντα καὶ βλάπτοντα πρὸς
τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν τοῦ πάντων
φύσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
τοῦ φωτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ λαμπρὸν τὸ φωτεινὸν
τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ χρῆσθαι, ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν ἀλλοῖς
δεόμενοι φωτοειδοῦς καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἄλλου πράγ-
ματος ὡς πολλοῦ καὶ λίαν ἐλάττου καὶ οὐ λαμπρᾶς
4 τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀμφοτέροις εἰς ἀ[illegible] τὴν
γνῶσιν οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ ἀμφοτέρου καὶ μόνον ἐν τῷ κοινῷ
τοῦ ἑρμηνεῖ· ἀλλ' ὅμως μόριον ἐν τῷ ἀκριβεῖ
ἐστιν· καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀκριβεῖς εἶναι
ἐν ὡς οὐ μόνον οὐχ ἱκανὸν τὸ πάν, ἀλλὰ τὸ λοιπὸν πρὸς τὸ
ζῆν· ἀλλ' ἔστι[3] καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἀπολλῦσι· κοινὸν
τὸν ὅσον[4] πλείστον ἔστιν εἴρειν τοῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν
5 ἀνθρώπων τὸ πρόσεστιν· ἔστιν δὲ ὅμως πρόσεστιν
τοῖς ἀμείνοσι φυσικοῖς καὶ σπουδαῖοι ὑπὲρ τοῦτο
λέγω· καὶ τοῦ γεγονέναι δυνατὸν ἀεὶ ῥᾴστα καὶ
βιωσόμεθα πρὸς τὸ κρείττον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
μαντικοῖς ὁ κρείττων ἀεὶ ἀπὸ πρόσεστιν τῶν
τὰς μαντικὰς ἔκαστον ὡς χρὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
καὶ τοῖς ἄνω τῶν συμφέροντα λόγοις ἄνω

[1] αἰδοῖοι Venetian editions: ἕκαστ.
[2] τε Reiske τε.
[3] ἐ. Reiske ἔστ.
[4] [illegible] ὅσον, [illegible] τῷ ὅσον Emperius, [illegible] [illegible] ὅσον.

useful to speak about the same things repeatedly, when the [illegible] know what is their duty but [illegible] to do [illegible] it is not the main thing that the sick should know what is beneficial to them but I suppose that they should use the treatment since it is this that will bring them health [illegible] generally should learn what things are hurtful and what are [illegible] to their lives but that they should make no mistake by their choice [illegible] just as we may see persons who are suffering from [illegible] and know that it hurts to put them [illegible] and are unwilling to refrain from [illegible] in regard to matters it concerns the majority, even though they know perfectly well that it is not advantageous to do a [illegible] more the sick fail to heed it. What [illegible] that intemperance is a great [illegible] to its victims? But for all that you can find thousands that are intemperate. Yes and [illegible] everybody must certainly know is not only useless to provide the necessaries of life but in addition is destructive of what one already has and yet in very truth you can find more idlers than men willing to work. Consequently in my opinion it devolves upon the more thoughtful on all occasions and continually to speak of these matters in the hope that it may prove possible to make men change their ways and to force them to the better course. For just as in the Mysteries the initiating priest more than once explains beforehand to those who are being initiated each single thing that they must do in like manner it is probable that the words concerning things beneficial be repeated often, or

τινὰ πρόρρησιν ἐρᾶν λυσιτελεῖ πολλάκις, μᾶλλον
6 δὲ δεῖ λέγεσθαι· τὰ γοῦν φλεγμαίνοντα τῶν
σωμάτων οὐκ εἰθὺς ἐνέβωκε πρὸς τὴν πρώτην
καταιόνησιν, ἀλλ' ἂν συνεχῶς τοῦτο ποιῇ τις,
ἐμαλάχθη καὶ ῥᾷον ἔσχεν· οὐκοῦν ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν
ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν πολλῶν φλεγμονὴν ἀγαπητὸν εἴ
τις δύναιτο πραΰνειν διηνεκῶς τῷ λόγῳ χρώμενος.

Φημὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας εἶναι μὲν
ἅπαντας ὡς οὔτε συμφέρον οὔτε καλὸν ἔστιν,
ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἴτιον, μὴ μέντοι
γε ἀπεχεσθαι μηδὲ ἐθέλειν μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἴσον
7 ἔχειν τῷ πέλας· καίτοι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν
ἀκρασίαν καὶ καθόλου πάσας ἁπλῶς τὰς ἄλλας
κακίας εὕροι τις ἂν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἔχουσι βλαβερὰς,
καὶ νουθεσίας μὲν οἶμαι καὶ καταγνώσεις τοὺς
ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπάρχοντας δικαίως τιγγάνοντας,
οὐ μὴν μισουμένους γε οὐδὲ κοινοὺς ἅπασι δοκοῦντας
ἐχθρούς· ἡ πλεονεξία δὲ μέγιστον μὲν[1] ἐστιν
αὐτῷ τῶν κακῶν, λυπεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πέλας· καὶ
τὸν πλεονέκτην οὐδεὶς ἔλεει, ὑπεύθυνον οὐδὲ ἀξιοῖ
διδάσκειν, προβάλλονται δὲ ἅπαντες καὶ πολέμιον
8 αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν· ἕκαστος οὖν τῶν αὐτοῦ[2] εἰ
βούλεται γνῶναι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τοιαύτης νοσηρίας,
ἐννοήσατω πῶς αὐτὸς ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας

[1] μὲν added by Pflugk.
[2] τῶν αὐτοῦ Cappa, αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν or αὐτῶν.

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[1] Dio here echoes the first line of Menander. Frag. 537 Kock: "In the front ranks of man's woes is grasping greed. For they who are keen to annoy their neighbours in things frequently are defeated and fail, and to their neighbours

[illegible]

[illegible] (L.O.I., p. 466)

[illegible]

πλεονεκτεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν συμβάλοι πῶς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνάγκη πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔχειν, ἐὰν ᾖ τοιοῦτος· καὶ μὴν ὅ γε Εὐριπίδης, οὐδενὸς ἧττον διδοξος ὢν τῶν ποιητῶν, τὴν Ἰοκάστην εἰσάγει λέγουσαν πρὸς τὸν Ἐτεοκλέα, παρακαλοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὕτω πως·

9 τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι
πλεονεξίας,[1] παῖ, μὴ σύ γ', ἄδικος ἡ θεός
πολλοὺς δ' ἐς οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας
εἰσῆλθε κἀξῆλθ' ἐπ' ἀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων
ἐφ' ἣ σύ μαίνει· τοῦτο κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,[2]
ἰσότητα τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εἶναι[3] φίλοις
πόλεσί τε πόλεσι συμμάχοις τε συμμάχοις
συνδεῖν·[4] τὸ γὰρ ἴσον νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ,
τῷ πλέονι δ' ἀεὶ πόλεμον καθίσταται
τοὔλασσον, ἐχθρᾶς θ' ἡμέρας κατάρχεται.

10 παρεθέμην δὲ ἑξῆς τὰ ἰαμβεῖα· τὸ γὰρ τοῖς καλῶς εἰρημένοις αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νοῦν ἔχοντός ἐστιν.

Ἓν δὴ τούτοις ἅπαντα ἔνεστι τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐκ τῆς πλεονεξίας, ὅτι μήτε ἰδίᾳ μήτε κοινῇ συμφέρει, τοὐναντίον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν οἴκων εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων ἀνατρέπει καὶ διαφθείρει· καὶ πάλιν ὡς νόμος ἀνθρώποις τιμᾶν τὸ ἴσον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κοινὴν φιλίαν καὶ πᾶσιν εἰρήνην

[1] Euripides' text has φιλοτιμίας, "ambition."
[2] Euripides' text has κάλλιστον, τέκνον.
[3] Euripides' text has ἢ φίλους εἶναι.
[4] Euripides' text has συνδεῖ.

those who attempt to overreach him; for in this way he can get an idea as to how other men must feel toward him if he is that sort of man. And further, Euripides too, a poet second to none other in reputation, brings Iocasta on the stage addressing Eteocles and urging him to refrain from trying to overreach his brother, in some such words as these:

At greed, the worst of deities, my son,
Why grappest thou? Do not, she is Queen of wrong
Houses many and happy cities enters she,
Nor leaves till ruined are her votaries.
Thou art mad for her — 'tis best to renegate
Equality, which knitteth friends to friends,
Cities to cities, allies to allies,
Nature gave men the law of equal rights,
And the less, ever marshalled against
The greater, ushers in the dawn of hate.[1]

I have quoted the iambics in full, for when a thought has been admirably expressed, it marks the man of good sense to use it in that form.[2]

In this passage, then, are enumerated all the consequences of greed: that it is of advantage neither to the individual nor to the state, but that, on the contrary, it overthrows and destroys the prosperity of families and of states as well; and, in the second place, that the law of men requires us to honour equality, and that this establishes a common bond of friendship and peace for all toward one

[1] Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 531–540 as modified by and adapted from Way in L.C.L. Cf. Plato, *Republic* 349 c ff.

[2] And yet Dio alters the poet's text in four places in order to make the quotation support his argument better. Cf. critical notes on the text.

πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιεῖ, τὰς δὲ διαφορὰς καὶ τὰς ἐμφύλους ἔριδας καὶ τοὺς ἔξω πολέμους κατ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον συμβαίνοντας ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἀπο-
11 στερεῖται. καὶ γάρ τοι[1] τί τοῦ ζῆν ἀναγκαιότερόν ἐστιν, ἢ τί τούτου περὶ πλείονος[2] ποιοῦνται πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ τοῦτο ἀπολλύουσι χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τὰς αὐτῶν[3] ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητὴς οὔ φησιν ἐν τοῖς θείοις εἶναι πλεονεξίαν διὰ τοῦτο ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀγήρω μένειν αὐτά, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐν ἕκαστον ἑαυτῷ τάξιν φυλάττοντα, τήν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὰς ὥρας εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν δύνασθαι διαμένειν ὅταν οὖν καὶ τοῖς θείοις ἡ πλεονεξία φθορὰν ἐπιφέρῃ, τί χρὴ νομίζειν τἀνθρωπεῖα πάσχειν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς νόσου, καλῶς δὲ μέμνηται καὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν, ὡς ὑπερ[4] τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν μηδένα μηδενὸς τούτων εὑρημένων.

12 Ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος καὶ πλέον εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς φησι τὸ ἥμισυ, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν βλάβας, οἶμαι, καὶ ζημίας λογιζόμενος τις γὰρ πώποτε ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ δυνάστης ἢ δῆμος ἐπιχειρήσας ὑπερβῆναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεχθῆναι οὐχ ἅπασαν μὲν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ-

[1] καὶ γάρ τοι Sonny : καίτοι.
[2] πλείονος Reiske : πλείστου.
[3] αὐτῶν Dindorf : αὐτῶν.
[4] ὡς ὑπερ Casaubon : ὑπερ.

another whereas quarrels internal strife and foreign wars are due to nothing else than the desire for more, with the result that each side is deprived even of a sufficiency. For what is more necessary than life, or what do all men hold as of more importance than this? But nevertheless men will destroy even that for money and some have caused even their own fatherlands to be laid waste. The same poet then goes on to say that there is no greed among the divine beings, wherefore they remain indestructible and ageless, each single one keeping its own proper position right and day and through all the seasons. But the poet adds if they were not so ordered none of them would be able to survive. When, therefore, greed would bring destruction even to the divine beings, what disastrous effect must we believe this greed to cause to human kind. And he adds measures, measures and weights as having been invented to secure justice and to prevent any man from over-reaching another.

And Hesiod says that the half is even more than the whole[1] having in mind I presume the injuries and losses resulting from greed. For what king or potentate or people has ever attempted to transgress the principle of justice and grasp at the greater share but he has not as his former felicity

[1] The given a very free interpretation of the words of Isocrates, but Hesiod whom he quotes is that Injustice is the principle which governs the universe, in which

> The righteous law of Night, and the Sun's beam
> [illegible]
> [illegible] earth that [illegible]
> Sun, Moon, and Night are unvisible unto man.
>
> Way in L.C.L.

Works and Days, v. 40.

βάλε, μεγάλας δὲ καὶ ἀμήχανον ἔχουσαν συμφοράς, ἅπερ δὲ τοῖς μὲν αὐτοῖς παραλείπεται ἐμφανῆ τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνοίας κατέλιπον ἢ τί τῶν ἀλεκτοτάτων βουλευμάτων καὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔργων μόλις ὑπομένειν οὐ πολλὰ πλείονα μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπράξατο, αὐτόματος πιπτὼν καὶ δίχα πόνου περιγιγνόμενος πλείστου δὲ χρόνου τῆς εὐημερίας κατέσχεν, ἀσφαλέστατα δὲ εἴρηται τοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοῖς.

12 Αἴτιον γοῦν οἱ τῆς Ἰουδαστῆς υἱεῖς οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ διώκησαν τοῦ πλείστου χρόνου, ὁ μὲν μόνος ἄρχειν βουλόμενος, ὁ δ' εἴ ἅπαντος τρόπου ἔτεινε κομιεῖσθαι τῆς διοικήσεως τὸ μέρος οὐκ ἀδελφοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν, μεγάλων δὲ κακῶν αἴτιοι κατέστησαν τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι, τὼ μὲν ἐπιστρατευσάντων πανοχρὶ ἀπολωλόσιν, τῶν δὲ ἀμυνομένων[1] μετὰ μικρὸν ἔτι ὄντων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πόνους οὐκ εἶχον ταφεῖν,

14 καὶ μόνον δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀλεοσάντων, τοῦ τῆς Ἑλένης ἁρπάσαντος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μενέλεω πτήματα, οἱ τὴν[2] μάστιγα τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκοῦντες πολὺν ἐπωλοῦντο μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ μίαν γυναῖκα ὑπόδεγμα καὶ χρήματα ἄλλα τηλικαῦτα τῆς τιμωρίας ἔτεισαν. ὁ τοῦτο δὲ ἔρξας ὁ τῆς ἀτιμίας ἡγεμὼν κύριος, ἀνείδη καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τοσούτων μυριάδας συναγαγὼν ἤγαγεν, ἅπασαν μὲν αὐχῶν ἐπεδείξατο τὴν δύναμιν, μόλις δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἰσχύσας διασῶσαι φεύγων αὐτὸς πορευόμενος δὲ μετὰ

[1] ἀμυνομένων Emperius: ἀπιόντων
[2] τὴν added by Wilamowitz.

and has suffered great and overpowering disasters, bequeathing to [illegible] hereafter [illegible] examples of folly and wickedness? Of those who were willing to receive the lesser share and to endure cheerfully the seeming defeat, what man has not gained more than the victors many times over, large gifts accrued to him as a result of his and national effort on his part, and has passed for the longest time fair prosperity and in the greatest security has enjoyed Fortune's blessings?

[illegible] at hand. Did not the sons of Leusis[1] when they became at variance in their desire for more, the one wishing to be sole ruler, and the other seeking by fair means or foul to secure the person of [illegible] do they not, though both [illegible] each the other and being the greatest evils both of them upon those who espoused their causes, since the invaders of Troy and straightway perished, while those who fought to defend it were worsted soon after because they would not allow the corpses to be buried? And again, on account of the greed of one man who carried off Helen and the possessions of Menelaus, the inhabitants of Asia's greatest city perished along with their children and wives, and for harbouring one woman and a little property they paid so huge a penalty. Then take the case of Xerxes, the master of the other continent. When he cast covetous eyes upon Greece too, and collected and brought against her so mighty a fleet and so many myriads, he shamefully lost all his armament and with difficulty saved his own person by taking to flight himself, and after

[1] Eteocles and Polynices.

ταῦτα τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ
15 φέρειν ἠναγκάζετο, καὶ μὴν Πολυκράτην φασίν, ἕως μὲν Σάμου μόνης ἦρχεν, εὐδαιμονέστατον ἁπάντων γενέσθαι βουλόμενον δέ τι καὶ τῶν πέραν πολυπραγμονεῖν, διαπλεύσαντα πρὸς Ὀροίτην, ὡς χρήματα λάβοι, μηδὲ ῥᾳδίου γε θανάτου τυχεῖν ἀλλὰ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου διαφθαρῆναι.

Ταῦτα μέν, ὦ ἓ παραδείγματα ὑμῖν, ἔκ τε τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐν ποιήμασι καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἱστορουμένων παρήνεγκα. ἄξιον δ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ τὸν θεον, ὡς κἀκεῖνος κολάζειν πέφυκε τους πλεονεκτοῦντας Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ χρωμένοις, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, οὐ μόνον ἀπεῖπε καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν ὠνείδισεν, οὕτως εἰπών

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς, μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς, οὔτοι δώσω·

ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε, προειπὼν μὲν τὸ μέλλον, οὕτως δὲ ὥστε ἐκείνους μὴ συνέντας ἐπὶ Τεγέαν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ταῖς γιγνωσκομέναις ὑπὸ πάντων συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν καίτοι φανερῶς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν αὐτοῖς ἀρνούμενος οὐδὲ τὴν Τεγέαν ἔδιδου. τὸ γὰρ ἰσχυρότατον [1] τῆς Ἀρκαδίας καὶ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἦν ἀλλ' ὅλως [2] διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲ ὧτα ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ τῶν λεγομένων αἰσθάνονται.

[1] ἰσχυρότατον Pflugk ἰσχυρόν.
[2] ὅλως Sonny ὅμως.

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[1] See Herodotus 3. 120–125. [2] *Ibid.*, 1. 66.

wards he was forced to endure the ravishing of his country and of his cities on the seacoast. As a further illustration take Polycrates. They say that so long as he was ruler of Samos alone he enjoyed the greatest felicity of any man in the whole world, but that when he wished to meddle somewhat in the affairs of the people of the opposite mainland and sailed across for the purpose of getting money from Oroetes, he not without easy death, but was impaled by that barbarian prince and thus perished.

These instances, in order that they be warning examples to you, I have taken not only from exceedingly ancient, but also from less ancient times and as related both in poetry and in narrative prose. Then it is worth your while to call to mind the attitude of the god likewise, that he also, by his very nature punishes the covetous. When, for instance, the Spartans consulted his oracle to ask he gave Arcadia to them, he not only refused them but rebuked their insatiable greed in the following words:

> Arcadia thou askest of me? 'Tis much! Nay, give it I'll not,

but also imposed a penalty upon them and foretold the future, yet in such a way that they did not understand, but marched against Tegea to meet with disasters known of all men. And yet, while plainly denying Arcadia to them, he would not give them Tegea either. For this was the strongest and most important place in Arcadia. But, speaking generally, the majority of mankind are so covetous that they have not even ears to hear, nor do they so much as understand words of warning when spoken.

17 Πάλιν τοίνυν Ἀθηναίοις ἐρωτῶσι περὶ τῆς νήσου Σικελίας ἔχρησε προσλαβεῖν τῇ πόλει τὴν Σικελίαν, λοφὸν τινὰ ὄντα τῆς πόλεως· οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν παρακειμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἠμέλησαν· οὕτως ἄκφρονες ὑπῆρχον διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πλείονος, ὥστε τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον λέγειν ἐν ἑνὶ τείχει περιλαβεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ μυρίων που σταδίων οἴσαν νῆσον· τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖσε πλεύσαντες οὐ μόνον Σικελίας διημάρτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστερήθησαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐπεῖδον ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγενημένην.

18 Καὶ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰ θέλοι τις ἐπεξιέναι, δῆλον ὡς οὐδ' ἐν ἔτει[1] ἐπιλείψει· σκοπείτε[2] δ' ὅτι τὴν ἰσχὺν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι νομίζουσιν· ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τοὺς ἐπ' ἄκρον ἰσχύουσι καὶ λίαν ὑπερβάλλουσι τῇ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα εὐεξίᾳ συμφέρει μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἀφελεῖν· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον, οἶμαι, τοῦ συμμέτρου παγχάλεπον· ὁμοίως ὁ πλούτος ἔχων τὴν[3] χρείαν, ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ μέτριος, οὐ λυπεῖ τοὺς ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' εὐχερεστέρους καὶ τὴν Δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν παρέχει τὸν βίον· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπερβάλῃ, πλείονας παρέχει τὰς φροντίδας καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τῆς δοκούσης ἡδονῆς, καὶ πολλοὶ μετενόησαν σφόδρα πλουτήσαντες, οἱ δὲ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄποροι καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων κατέστησαν.

19 Εἰσὶν ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μερῶν ἕκαστον ἐθέλοι πλεονεκτεῖν, ἴσθ' ὅτιως

[1] οὐδ' ἐν ἔτει Emperius: οὐδὲν ἔτι.
[2] σκοπείτε Fragnius: σκοπεῖ M, σκοπεῖν UB.
[3] τὴν Emperius: τινα.

At another time when the Athenians asked about the status of Sicily the oracle answered that they should annex to their city Sicily, this being the name of a hill near the city.[1] But they paid no attention to what was near at hand and before their eyes, so bereft of sense were they on account of their lust for more that they imagined the god was telling them to conclude what [illegible] was. Athens and an island were [illegible] instant. As a result they sailed thither and not only failed to get Sicily but lost Attica as well, and now their city itself is in the hands of her enemies.

And if you should wish to enumerate all such examples as these it is clear that not even in a year's time would you run out of them. This consideration I beg of you that most you regard physical strength as one of the blessings of life; yet I believe that in the case of those who have the greatest physical strength and greatly exceed in bodily vigour, it is of advantage to us to be a part of this; for in my opinion what exceeds the right proportion is very troublesome. In the same manner wealth which may be put to use does not [illegible] be moderate, insure its possessor, but makes his life easier and certainly frees it from want; but if it becomes excessive it causes far more worries and troubles than that which passes for pleasure; and many have cried the day when they acquired enormous wealth, while some for this very reason have come to lack even the barest necessities.

So far so good. But let us take our own selves. If each element that makes up our being should wish to have the advantage, would it be possible for us to

[1] That is, of Athens, see Pausanias 8. 11. 12.

τὸν βραχύτατον καιρὸν διαμεῖναι δυνησόμεθα, λέγω δὲ οἷον εἰ πλοῖον τινὶ τοῦ συμμέτρου αἷμα γιγνοιτο, ἢ νὴ Δία τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θερμὸν ὅ τι δήποτ' ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπιτεινοι παρὰ τὴν σύμμετρον καὶ τὴν προσηκουσαν, οὐχὶ μεγάλας ἐπισταοθε καὶ χαλεπὰς ἐκ τουτων ἁπαντὰν νόσους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἁρμονιαις τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων, εἰ πλειονεκτήσειε τῶν χορδῶν[1] τις τῇ τάσει πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ ἀνάγκη πᾶσαι λελυνθαι τὴν ἁρμονιαν,

20 Σφοδρα δ' ἔγωγε θαυμαζω τί ἂν ἐποιήσαμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦ βιου τὸ ἐλαχιστον παρὰ τῶν θειῶν μέτρον εἴχομεν ἀλλ',[2] ὥσπερ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα παρασκευαζόμενοι πλοῖον ἄλλος ἄλλου φιλοτιμουμεθα ἔχειν ὥσπερ οὖν εἴ τις εἰδὼς ὅτι ἢ δύ' ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐὰν πλεῖστος διαγενηται χρόνος, ἔχει πλοῖον, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνιαυτοῦ σιτα ἐμβαλοιτο, ἀνόητος δοξει τον αυτον τρόπον, εἴ τις ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι πλειω τῶν ἑβδομηκοντα ἐτῶν οὐκ ἂν βιωσειεν, εἰς ἔτη χίλια πορίζοιτο βιον οὐκ ἴσως[3] καὶ ὁμοιως ἂν εἴη μαινόμενος, ἔνιοι μὲν γὰρ τοσαῦτα παρασκευάζονται, ὡς εἴ γ' ἔπλουν, εὐθὺς ἂν καταδῦναι τὴν ναῦν καὶ νὴ Δία γε συμβαίνει μυρίοις

21 Εἶεν εἰ δὲ δή τις ἐφ' ἑστίασιν κεκληκὼς δέκα ἀνθρώπους ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα, τοσούτους[4] αὐτὸν ἐμπλησαι δέον, ὁ δὲ πεντακοσίοις ἢ χιλιοις ἑτοιμάζοι τροφήν, οὐ παντελῶς ἐξεστάναι δοξει,

[1] χορδων Cobosa φθόγγων

[2] εἴ γε Capps, εἴ γε καὶ νυν Emperius, εἴωμεν καὶ νῦν Arnim ἀλλ

[3] οὐκ ἴσως καὶ ὁμοίως Reiske: ἴσως οὐχ ὁμοίως. Geel and Arnim delete ἴσως.

[4] τοσούτους Capps: τοιούτους.

keep alive for the shortest time? I mean, for example if the blood should increase a little beyond the proper proportion, or even if something or other perhaps should increase the pressure of the warm breath beyond its due and proper proportion, do you not know that serious and dangerous diseases inevitably come on? And in the harmonious of these instruments of our bodies, if any one of the strings should get more than its share of tension, in Heaven's name must not the harmony as a whole be destroyed?[1]

As for me, I wonder greatly how we should have acted if we had not received the shortest span of life from the gods? However, just as if we were making our plans for an endless life, we strive earnestly each to have more than his neighbour. Just as any man, then, who knowing that he has a voyage of only two or three days duration at the most before him, should nevertheless put enough provisions on board to last a year, will be regarded as a fool, in the same way, any man who, being fully aware that he could not live more than the allotted span of seventy years, should provide himself with substance to last him a thousand years would be not less equally and in the same way insane? Indeed there are some who lay in stores so great that, if they were out at sea their ship would founder at once. And I swear it does happen to countless numbers.

So much for that. Well then, if a man has invited ten or fifteen guests to a banquet and although needing to satisfy only so many, should then go on and make ready food enough for five hundred or a thousand, will he not be thought to be quite out of his

[1] Cf. Plato, *Republic* I 346d ff.

τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰδότες τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας εὐαριθμήτους τινάς· ἐσθῆτος γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ σκέπης καὶ τροφῆς δεόμεθα. ἔπειτα καταστενομεθα ὥσπερ στρατοπέδῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συνάγοντες καὶ νὴ Δία γε εἰκότως. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ βόσκουσι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στρατοπεδον, καὶ ἐσθῆτα μὲν οὐδεὶς βούλεται μείζω τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν, ὡς δύσχρηστον ὄν· οὐσίαν δὲ τῷ παντὶ μείζω τῆς χρείας ἔχειν ἅπαντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκείνου χαλεπώτερον.

22 Δοκεῖ δέ μοι Κροῖσος καλῶς ὁ Λυδός, τὴν ἀπληστίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλέγξαι βουλόμενος, εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς εἰσαγαγών τινας τοσοῦτο χρυσίον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐξενεγκεῖν ὅσον ἕκαστος ἂν δύνηται τῷ σώματι. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς οὐ μόνον τὸν κόλπον ἐμπλήσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ψήγματος ἐκφέρειν καὶ τῷ στόματι, καὶ μόλις πορευεσθαι πάνυ γελοίους καὶ διεστραμμένους. οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι[1] καὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον πορεύεσθαί τινας ἀσχημονοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς πλεονεξίας καὶ καταγελάστους ὄντας.

[1] ἡγοῦμαι Cappa: οὖν. Reiske retains οὖν and adds ἡγοῦμαι after βίον.

mind? In like manner we also, although we know that the needs of the body are easy enough to account for—clothing, I suppose, and shelter and food sufficient we do need—nevertheless strain ourselves to the utmost as if we were gathering supplies for an army and I swear, there is good reason for our doing so, for the great majority are feeding in their hearts a whole army of desires. As for clothing, nobody wants to have it too large for his body, knowing that it would be inconvenient to wear; but property altogether too large for their needs all men crave, not understanding that this is more objectionable than the other.

I think, too, that Croesus the Lydian, when he wanted to expose the insatiable greed of men, did this admirably. He conducted a group of men into his treasure-house and permitted them to take away just as much gold as each man could carry on his person. For we see that most of them not only filled the bosoms of their clothing but carried away some of the dust upon their heads and in their mouths and that they could scarcely walk, cutting a ridiculous figure, almost twisted out of shape as they were.[1] In life also, methinks certain men walk along in an unseemly posture and cut a ridiculous figure on account of their greed.

[1] See Herodotus, 6. 125 and compare *Discourses* 78. 32.

THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

[illegible]

opposite to that of Qum-ilum.

[illegible] own. However,

by saying that a Roman studied rhetoric solely for formal intellectual training. It might be objected, however, that Cicero and Caesar did not study it for this purpose alone.

As to why this man of high position wished such elementary instruction, and he a Greek, Dio suggests that for some especial reasons he had failed to get rhetorical training in his youth, or that he lived far removed from the centres of Greek culture. Finally, von Arnim faintly hints that Dio's correspondent may have been Vespasian before he became emperor. Wilhelm Christ suggests that the man was Nerva before his elevation to the position of emperor, while Hammer and Lemarchand support the view that Dio's letter was not addressed to any actual person.

18 ΠΕΡΙ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΑΣΚΗΣΕΩΣ

1 Πολλάκις ἐπαινέσας τὸν σὸν τρόπον ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀξίου πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, οὐδέποτε πρότερον ἐθαύμασα ὡς νῦν. τὸ γὰρ ἡλικίας τε ἐν τῷ ἀκμαιοτάτῳ ὄντα καὶ δυνάμει οὐδενὸς λειπόμενον καὶ ἄφθονα κεκτημένον, καὶ πασης ἐξουσίας οὔσης δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τρυφᾶν, ὅμως ἔτι παιδείας ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ φιλοκαλεῖν περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειριαν καὶ μὴ ἀκνεῖν, μηδὲ εἰ πονεῖν δεοι, σφόδρα μοι ἔδοξε γενναίας ψυχῆς καὶ οὐ φιλοτίμου μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι φιλοσόφου ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ ἄριστοι οὐ μόνον ἀκμάζειν μανθάνοντες, ἀλλὰ
2 καὶ γηράσκειν ἔφασκον. πάνυ δὲ σύ μοι δοκεῖς φρονεῖν, ἡγούμενος πολιτικῷ ἀνδρὶ δεῖν λόγων ἐμπειρίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχύειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι πλείστη ἀπὸ τούτου ὠφέλεια. τίνι μὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι δείσαντες θαρροῦσιν ἢ λόγῳ; τίνι δὲ ἐξυβριζοντες καὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι καθαιροῦνται καὶ κολάζονται;

THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

Although I had often praised your character as that of a good man who is worthy to be first among the best, yet I never admired it before as I do now. For that a man in the very prime of life and set out to no one's influence, who possesses great wealth and has every opportunity to live in luxury by day and night, should in spite of all this resort out of education and be eager to acquire the art of the orator's speaking and should never be backward even if he should not come to me to give proof of an extraordinary noble soul and one not only ambitious but in very truth devoted to wisdom. And for that matter the best of the ancients said that they went on learning not only in the prime of life but also as they grew old.[1] And you, as it seems to me, are altogether wise in believing that a statesman needs experience and training in public speaking and in conversation. For it is true that this will prove of very great help toward making him honored and influential, and esteemed instead of being looked down upon. For when men are afraid what does more to inspire them than the spoken word? And when they were ignorant and uplifted in spirit, what more effectively brings them down and chastens

[1] Solon said: "I keep learning many things as I grow old." — [illegible] Plutarch, *Life of Solon* 31b, and compare Cicero, *De Senectute* 6. 20.

τίνι δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσι ἀπέχονται, τίνα δὲ νουθετοῦντα πρᾴτερον φέρουσιν ἢ οὗ[1] λόγῳ εὐφραίνοντα,[2]
3 πολλάκις γοῦν[3] ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναλίσκοντας[4] μὲν ἑτέρους καὶ χαριζομένους καὶ ἀναθήμασι κοσμοῦντας, ἐπαινουμένους δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων αἰτίους. διὸ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἀρχαιότατοι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν τὴν ποίησιν λαβόντες οὔτε τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς οὔτε τοὺς καλοὺς ὡς θεοὺς ἔφασαν ὁρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγοντας. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ συνεώρακας καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖς πράττειν, ἐπαινῶ σε καὶ θαυμάζω.

4 Χάριν δὲ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν οἶδα ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, ὅτι με πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἐγχείρημα χρήσιμον σαυτῷ νενόμικας· μέχρι νῦν μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ τις ἔφη τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῷ ἱκανὸς[5] εἶναι μάντις, κἀγὼ ἐξαρκεῖν ᾤμην ἐμαυτῷ περὶ τοὺς λόγους, μόγις καὶ τοῦτο. σὺ δέ με ἐπαίρεις καὶ θαρρεῖν ἀναπείθεις, εἰ ἀνδρὶ καὶ παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντι καὶ τηλικούτῳ δύναμαι χρήσιμος εἶναι. δυναίμην δ' ἂν τυχὸν, ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἰόντι μαλα ἰσχυρῷ καὶ ἀκμάζοντι παῖς ἤ τις πρεσ-

[1] ἢ οὗ Herwerden οὗ.
[2] εὐφραίνοντα Reiske εὐφραίνοντα UB, εὐφραίνοντας M.
[3] γοῦν Wilamowitz οὖν.
[4] ἀναλίσκοντας Casaubon ἀναδιδόντας.
[5] ἱκανὸς Goerlitz κακὸς UB, κακῶς M.

[1] But Homer does apply the term θεοειδής (godlike in appearance) to Alexander or Paris (*Iliad* 3. 16), to Telemachus (*Odyssey* 14. 173) and the term θεοείκελος (godlike) to Achilles (*Iliad* 1. 131). Then Sappho (*Supp.* 20 c. 61 L.) applies this latter term to Hector and Andromachê. Plutarch 2. 988 c. says: "The poets call the beautiful godlike in form" '—οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς καλοὺς θεοειδεῖς ὀνομάζουσιν.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

βωτης ἀνίοτε νομεὺς ἐπίτομον διέξας ἢ λεωφόρον, ἣν οὐκ ἔτυχεν εἰδώς

5 Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ[1] πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ἤδη οἷς προσέταξας ἐγχειρητέον

Μειρακίῳ μὲν οὖν ἢ νέῳ ἀνδρὶ τοῦ τε πράττειν ἀποχωρῆσαι βουλομένῳ καὶ πρὸς ἄσκησιν γενέσθαι καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι ἀγωνιστικήν, ἑτέρων[2] ἔργων[3] τε καὶ πραξέων δεῖ· σὺ δὲ οὔτε ἄπειρος τοῦ ἔργου οὔτε ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ πράττειν δυνήσει οὔτε χρῄζεις δικανικῆς δυνάμεώς τε καὶ δεινότητος, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς αὐτῆς πρεπούσης

9 τε ἅμα καὶ ἀρκούσης· τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἴσθι, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σοι πόνου καὶ τριβῆς· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀσκήσαντι ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προάγει, τῷ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρησαμένῳ συλλήψει[4] τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀκμῆτα ποιεῖ προσφέρεσθαι, καθάπερ τοὺς ἀσυνήθεις περὶ σώματος ἄσκησιν εἴ τις κοπώσειε βαρυτέροις γυμνασίοις, ἀνθεκτικωτέρους ἐποίησεν· ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ[5] τοῖς ἀνθεσι τοῦ[6] ποιεῖν σώμασιν[7] ἀλείψεως[8] δεῖ μᾶλλον καὶ κινήσεως συμμέτρου ἢ γυμνασίας, οὕτω σοὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιμελείας[9] ἐστι χρεία μᾶλλον ἡδονῆ[10] μεμιγμένης ἢ ἀσκήσεως καὶ πόνου

[1] λόγω added by Dindorf after πολλὰ.

[2] ἑτέρων ἔργων Lappe: ἑ ἀγωνιστικῶν M, ἑ ἀγῶν ἑτέρων UB, ἑτέρων ἑτέρων T.

[3] λόγων instead of ἔργων conjectured by Lappe, cf. § 17 infra.

[4] Instead of συλλήψει Casaubon conjectured συλλαμβάνει, Goer: ἐπ' ἀκμῆτα. En perius συνεφεῖ.

[5] ὥσπερ Dindorf: ὡς.

[6] ἀνθεσι τοῦ Pflugk: ἀνθεσι M, ἀνθίστου UB.

[7] σώμασιν Emperius: σωμάτων.

[8] ἀλείψεως anonymous emendation in Reiske: ἀπαλείψεως.

wayfarer in pointing out a shorter road or a beaten track of which he did not happen to know.

But to cut my preface short,[1] I must at once endeavour to carry out your instructions.

For a mere lad, now or a young man who wishes to withdraw from political life and devote himself to training and to the acquisition of forensic ability, there is need of a different regimen in both tasks and activities. But you are not unacquainted with the task nor are you able to forsake the political career, nor is it the conference and effectiveness of a pleader in the courts of law of which you stand in need but rather that which is fitting and sufficient for a statesman. In first of all, you should know that you have no need of oil or exacting labour, for although, when a man has already undergone a great deal of training, these contribute to greater and more progress, yet if he has had only a little, they will lessen his confidence and make him diffident about getting into action, just as with athletes who are unaccustomed to the training of the body, such training weakens them if they happen to be given by exercises which are too severe. But just as bodies unaccustomed to toil need anointing and mild and easy exercise rather than the training of the gymnasium, so you in preparing yourself for public speaking have need of diligence which has a tempering of pleasure rather than laborious training.

[1] [illegible] "many words before action" is apparently a proverbial expression.

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[a] [illegible] Emperor: [illegible] B, [illegible] CM.
[b] [illegible] Emperor: [illegible].

Τῶν μὲν δὴ ποιητῶν συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν σοι Μενάνδρῳ τε τῶν κωμικῶν μὴ παρεργῶς ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ Εὐριπίδῃ τῶν τραγικῶν, καὶ τούτοις μὴ οὕτως, αὐτὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέρων ἐπιστάμενον μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ἡδέως εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλοτριῶς ὑποκρινάσθαι· πλείων γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις ἀπαλλάττει τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀναγιγνώσκειν[1] ἀσχολίας· καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν σοφωτέρων αἰτιάσεταί με ὡς προαιρούμενόν τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων κωμῳδιῶν τὴν Μενάνδρου ἢ τῶν ἀρχαίων τραγῳδιῶν Εὐριπίδου· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰς πολυτελεστάτας τροφὰς συντάττουσι τοῖς θεραπευομένοις δι' ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὠφελούσας· πολὺ δ' ἂν ἔργον εἴη τὸ λέγειν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν ἡ τε γὰρ τοῦ Μενάνδρου μίμησις ἅπαντος ἡμῖν καὶ χαρίεντος πάσαν ὑπερβέβληκε τὴν δεινότητα τῶν παλαιῶν κωμῳδιῶν, ἡ τε Εὐριπίδου προσήνεια καὶ πιθανότης τοῦ μὲν τραγικοῦ ἀπαθανατίσμου[2] καὶ ἀξιώματος τινὸς οὐκ ἂν τελέως ἐφικνοῖτο, πολιτικῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ πάνυ ὠφέλιμος, ἔτι δὲ νέῳ καὶ παντὶ δεινὸς πληρῶσαι, καὶ γνώμας πρὸς ἅπαντα ὠφελίμους καταμίγνυσι τοῖς ποιήμασιν, ἃς φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος ὤν.

8 Ὅμηρος δὲ καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μέσος καὶ ἔσχατος, παντὶ παιδὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γεροντὶ τοσοῦτον ἀφ' αὐτοῦ διδοὺς ὅσον ἕκαστος δύναται λαβεῖν· μελῃ

[1] ἀλλὰ B added by Emperius.
[2] ἀπαθανατισμοῦ Valckenaer: ὑπόθεσιν UM, ὑπόθεσιν B.
[3] ἀνεκλεκτοτέρου cappa, cf. Longinus 16. 3: ἀνεκλέκτου Reiske, ἀνεκλέκτου Wilamowitz: ἀνεκλέκτου UM, ἀνεκλέκτου T.

[1] Cf. Longinus, *De Sublimitate* 16. 3: "Moreover the poet in his oath does not make divinities of the men—ἀνεκλεκτοτέρου.

So let us consider the poets. I would counsel you to read Menander of the writers of Comedy [illegible] and Euripides of the writers of Tragedy, and to do so not occasionally by reading them to yourself, but by having [illegible] read to you by others, preferably by men who are wont to render the most pleasure; but at any rate so as not to offend. For the effect is enhanced when one is relieved of the pleasure of reading. And yet [illegible] Menander [illegible] to be read [illegible] Euripides in preference to the early writers of Tragedy. For they are do [illegible] [illegible] their patients [illegible] that which is [illegible]. Now it would be a long task to enumerate [illegible] to be learned from how well [illegible] Menander's portraiture of every character and every [illegible] [illegible] of the early writers of Comedy; but the quality and place [illegible] of Euripides [illegible] passage not completely belonging to the grandeur of the tragic poetry was of delighting his characters [illegible] to the light digress [illegible] very [illegible] in public life and arithmetic, he cleverly [illegible] his [illegible] with an abundance of characters and [illegible] incidents and strews them with maxims [illegible] on occasions since he was not without acquaintance with philosophy.*

But Homer comes first, not in the mosaic and not, in this, he gives of himself [illegible] every boy and youth and old man just as much as each of them can take.

* Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, x. 1. 68. He also gives the preference to Euripides and Menander, and for the same reasons.

δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεῖα καὶ ἴαμβοι καὶ διθύραμβοι τῷ μὲν σχολὴν ἄγοντι πολλοῦ ἄξια· τῷ δὲ πράττειν τε καὶ ἅμα τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐξεῖν διανοουμένῳ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πρὸς αὐτὰ σχολή· τοῖς
9 δ' ἱστορικοῖς διὰ πολλὰ ἀνάγκη τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐντυγχάνειν, ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τῶν λόγων τὸ ἄμπειρον εἶναι πράξεων καὶ εὐτυχῶν καὶ δυστυχῶν οὐ κατὰ λόγον μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἐνίοτε καὶ παρὰ λόγον ἀνδράσι τε καὶ πόλεσι συμβαίνουσιν σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖον πολιτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν προαιρουμένῳ· ὁ γὰρ πλείστα ἑτέροις συμβάντα ἐπιστάμενος ἄριστα οἷς αὐτὸς ἐγχειρεῖ διαπράξεται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ οὔτε εὖ πράττων παρὰ μέτρον ἐπαρθήσεται, δυσπραγίαν τε πᾶσαν οἴσει γενναίως διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἐν οἷς εὖ ἔπραττεν ἀνεπιόπτος εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβολῆς.

10 Ἡροδότῳ μὲν οὖν, εἴ ποτε εὐφροσύνης σοι δεῖ,[1] μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐντυγχάνοις· τὸ γὰρ ἀνειμένον καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ὑπόνοιαν παρέχει μεθόδου μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορικὸν τὸ συγγράμμα εἶναι· τῶν δὲ ἄκρων Θουκυδίδου ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων Θεόπομπος· καὶ γὰρ ῥητορικόν τι περὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν λόγων ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατος οὐδὲ ὀλιγωρος[2] περὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, καὶ τὸ ῥαθυμον περὶ τὰς λέξεις οὐχ οὕτω φαῦλον

[1] εὐφροσύνης ... δεῖ Geel: εὐφροσύνης εἰ M, ἐφφοσύνη ... U, εὐφροσύνη ... R.
[2] ἀνωμαλ Reiske: ὀλίγος BM, ἐλλόγος U.

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1452 a 11.
[2] Theopompus of Chios, born about 378 B.C., attended the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ὥστε οἱ λυπῆσαι Ἔφορον δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παρεισάγουσι, τὸ δὲ ὑπτιον καὶ ἀνιμένον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας σοι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσιν.

11 Τῶν γε μὴν ῥητόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους τίς οὐκ ἐπίσταται, Δημοσθένην μὲν δύναμίν τε ἀπαγγελίας καὶ δεινότητι διανοίας καὶ πλήθει λόγων πάντας τοὺς ῥήτορας ὑπερβεβληκότα, Λυσίαν δὲ βραχύτητι καὶ ἀφελότητι καὶ συντόμῳ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ λεληθέναι τὴν δεινότητα, πλὴν οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε σοι συμβουλεύσαιμι τὰ πολλὰ τούτοις ἀντιτυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' Ὑπερείδῃ τε μᾶλλον καὶ Λυκίνῃ τούτων γὰρ ἀφλοιοστέραί τε αἱ διανοίαι καὶ κυλινδρικώτεραι αἱ κατασκευαὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἔλαττον λειπόμενον· ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυκούργῳ συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν ἐντυγχάνειν σοι, ἀλαφρότερον τούτων ὄντι καὶ ἐμφαίνοντι τινα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀφλοιστίαν καὶ γενναιότητα τοῦ τρόπου.

12 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ φημι δεῖν, κἂν [1] εἴ τις ἐντύχοι τῇ παραινέσει τῶν πάνυ ἀκριβῶν αἰτιάσεται, μηδὲ τῶν παντάπασιν ὀλίγον πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀνεῖσθαι ἔχειν· λέγω δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Πλουτίωνα καὶ Κόνωνα καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην

[1] κἂν Ἀπιανὸς καί.

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[1] Ephorus born between 408 and 405 B.C. at Cymé in Asia Minor was a great prose historian.

[2] Not the legendary lawgiver of Sparta, but one of the ten Attic orators, one of his speeches is extant.

[3] Lycinus Lempriere 21 gives the orthographic form.

[4] A rhetorician of Tarsus, pupil of Theodorus of Gadara, was perhaps identical with Antipater of Damascus, the father of the historian Nicolaus, [illegible] B.C.

[5] Theodorus of Gadara, eminent rhetorician in the age of Augustus. Tiberius during his retirement at Rhodes was one of his hearers.

not so bad as to *offend* you. As for Ephorus I will be he hands down to us a great deal of information about events; yet the tediousness and carelessness of his narrative at times would not suit your purpose.

When it comes to the orators, however, who does not know which are the best? Demosthenes for the vigour of his style, the consistency of his thought, and the appropriateness of his concluding epilogues in which he surpasses all other orators; and Lysias for his brevity, the simplicity and coherence of his thought, and for his well concealed artifices. However, I should not advise you to read these two chiefly, but Hyperides rather and Aeschines, for the faculties in which they excel are simpler, the arrangement and their arguments are easier to grasp, and by reason of the decision which the writer displays to most of the two also are ranked first. But I should advise you to read Lycurgus[1] as well, since he has a better touch than those others and reveals a certain simplicity and nobility of character in his speeches.

At this point I say it is advisable—even if some one, after reading my recommendation of the consummate masters of oratory, is going to find fault—also not to remain unacquainted with the more recent orators, those who lived a little before our time.[2] I refer to the works of such men as Antipater,[3] Theodorus,[4] Piston,[5] and Caecilius,[6] and to similar

[1] Piston, mentioned also by Seneca and by Hermogenes, who calls [illegible] (see ch. [illegible]).

[2] [illegible] perhaps the [illegible] of the age of Augustus. He was the [illegible] of a [illegible] and has [illegible] [illegible] Antiochus [illegible] Antiochus [illegible] mentioned in the Dissertations of Photius, who praises his Attic style.

ὕλην. αἱ γὰρ τούτων δυνάμεις καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν εἶεν ἡμῖν ὠφέλιμοι, ᾗ οὐκ ἂν ἐντυγχάνοιμεν αὐτοῖς δεδουλωμένοι τὴν γνώμην, ὥσπερ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ δύνασθαί τι τῶν εἰρημένων αἰτιᾶσασθαι μάλιστα θαρροῦμεν πρὸς τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν
13 ἡμεῖς,[1] καὶ ἥδιόν τις παραβάλλει αὐτὸν ᾧ πείθεται συγκρινόμενος οὐ καταδεέστερος, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ βελτίων ἂν[2] φαίνεσθαι.

Τρέψομαι δὲ ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικούς, οἷς δὴ ἀναγκαιοτάτους εἶναί φημι παντὶ ἀνδρὶ λόγων ἐφιεμένῳ. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄψον ἄνευ ἁλῶν γεύσει κεχαρισμένον, οὕτως[3] οὐδὲν εἶδος ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀκοῇ προσηνὲς ἂν γενέσθαι χάριτος Σωκρατικῆς ἄμοιρον.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους μακρὸν ἂν εἴη ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸ τυχόν.
14 Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι ἀνδρὶ πολιτικῷ καὶ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξαρκεῖν δύνασθαι· εἴτε ἐν πολέμῳ τις στρατηγῶν εἴτε πόλεως ἀφηγούμενος, εἴτε ἐν δήμῳ λέγων εἴτε ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ, εἴτε καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μὴ ὡς ῥήτωρ εἰθέλοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πολιτικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς ἀνὴρ τὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσήκοντα ἐν δίκῃ εἰπεῖν· πάντων ἄριστος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ[4] καὶ λυσιτελέστατος πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα Ξενοφῶν. τά τε γὰρ διανοήματα

[1] ἡμεῖς Cohoon. ᾗ BM, ᾗ U.
[2] ἂν added by Arnim.
[3] Arnim would add λόγων after οὕτως, unnecessarily.
[4] δοκεῖ added by Emperius.

material. For the powers they display can be more useful to us because when we read them, our judgment is not fettered and enslaved, as it is when we approach the ancients. For when we find that we are able to criticise what was been said, we are most encouraged to attempt the same things ourselves, and we find more pleasure in comparing ourselves with others when we are convinced that in the comparison we should be found to be not inferior to them, with the chance, occasionally, of being even superior.

I shall now turn to the Socratics,[1] writers who, I affirm, are quite indispensable to every man who aspires to become an orator. For just as no meat without salt will be gratifying to the taste, so no branch of literature, as it seems to me, could possibly be pleasing to the ear if it lacked the Socratic grace.

It would be a long task to eulogize the others, even to read them is no slight task. But it is my own opinion that Xenophon, and he alone of the ancients, can satisfy all the requirements of a man in public life. Whether one is commanding an army in time of war, or is guiding the affairs of a state, or is addressing a popular assembly or a senate, or even if he were addressing a court of law and desired, not as a professional master of eloquence merely, but as a statesman or a royal prince, to utter sentiments appropriate to such a character at the bar of justice, the best exemplar of all, it seems to me, and the most profitable for all these purposes is Xenophon. For not only

[1] By the Socratics Dio means those writers, such as Plato and Xenophon, who came under the personal influence of Socrates.

ωφέλ καὶ ἀνὰ καὶ πάντ' ἄλλα φαινόμενα, τί τε εἶδος τῆς ἀναγκαίας πρᾶξεως καὶ κεχαρισμένου καὶ πολιτικοῦ, πολλὰ μὲν ἔχω σιδεῖν τοῦτο, πολλὰ δὲ χαρὰν καὶ ἀνιδεῖν· ὅμως μὴ λόγων δεινότητι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμαις δοκοῦσιν τὴν
10 δύναμιν· εἰ γὰρ εἰδέναι εἰ τοῦ τῆ πόλει τῆς Ἀνάβασιν πρᾶγματα ὠφέλιμα ἐπιμελῶς ἀνιχνεῖν, ἀνάγκη λόγων ἐμπειρίαν τῶν νῦν ἀεὶ λεγόντων δεινοτάτων, ἵν' οὐ δεινοὶ καὶ κακοὶ ἐν τρόπῳ ὑπόσχῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ἢ μαθεῖν βουλόμενοι· εἰπὲ γὰρ θαρρεῖν τοὺς ἀνδρὶ κατεπεστηκότας χρόνον πολιτικῷ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ πολλάκις ὡς χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν βεβαιοῦν· εἰπὲ τρόπῳ καὶ παρακαλεῖν πάλιν Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς ἐπείδον ὅτι ἐν ἀναβάσεσι τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν Ξενοφῶντος λόγοις
15 ἅμα γὰρ κινεῖται ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἀνάγκη βαθεῖαν μεταξὺ τοσοῦτον[1] τῶν ἔργων τοῖς λόγοις ἀντιγράφειν· εἰπὲ μόνα φρόνησιν καὶ ἐπιμελῆς ὁμιλεῖν φαίνομαι καὶ μόνα παθεῖν τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν διεχρεμπτεῖν μόνα ἀνθρώπου δοκεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου κεχαρισμένον ἐν πάντῃ ποιεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ἔνεστιν· καὶ ἀπορίαν δὲ λόγου ὡς πρὸς τοῦ χρησόμεθα καὶ πρὸς ὀρθῶς ἀνάγκης ἔστιν πλοῦτον καὶ πρὸς πλοῦτον κατα[2] ταῦτα καὶ βασιλικοῦ τινα[3] τρόπον διαλεχθῆναι καὶ ἐξαπατῆσαι ὅπως πολέμου μὲν ἀεὶ βλαβῆ φύσει ἢ ἀεὶ τῷ συμφέρον, καὶ μόνῃ τεταγνω-

[1] ἐν Reiske, dr.
[2] τοῦ [illegible] τῶν M, τοῦ [illegible] C
[3] τοῦ [illegible] (τοῦ [illegible] ὡς βαθεῖ [illegible], Wendg.)
[4] τοῦ Καρπεῖν [illegible].

are his ideas clear and simple and easy for everyone to grasp, but the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

μόνον ἄλογον καὶ θηριῶδες καὶ ἀγριῶν εἶναι καὶ
τὸ μὲν ἄλλοις ἀγρίοις τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ οἷς
ἐξαγωνίζεται ὑπηρετοῦσι καὶ οἷς κατατρυφᾷ-
17 τοιν καὶ κατατρυφωμένοις ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε
τοῦτο ἴσως τὸ ἀστεῖον πεπόνθασι· ἐν γὰρ
εἴδει, μιᾷ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις τοῦ λόγου καὶ οἱ
αὐτὸν παραλαβόντες ἀνοήτοι μαινόμενοι· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ
πράττουσι ἃ καὶ πάσχουσι· ἀνθρωπόμορφοι δὲ
ἄνοιαν τε τῶν πάντων καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ τῷ
εὐ ἐπιστάσθαι ἀγνοοῦντες· καὶ εἰ ἄλλο οὐδὲν
τῶν τρόπων μεταβάλοιτο, ἄλλοι καὶ ἐν θοῦκῃ καὶ
ἐν ἄλλοις ἀφανοῦς ἀνθρώπου μόνον τοῦ αὐτοῦ,
εἰ ἄρα [illegible] πρόθυμοι καὶ ἀλόγιστοι ἀνοήτοις·
18 Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ οὗτοι· ἀλλ'
ἡ φαύλη ἀφωνία ἐκβαλοῦσα δὲ μᾶλλον· πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ ἀκούοντες[1] τῶν λόγων ἐν ὑπηρετοῦσι
τοῦ γράφοντος, ἄνοια ἀλλοῖον ποιεῖ· ἄνοια
ἀνοίας πρὸς ἄνοιαν μὲν ἄνοιαν συλλαμβάνει τοῦ
γράφοντος πρὸς ἐξ ἀν δὲ πλείω· καὶ γράφων δὲ
οὐ τοῦτο ἐν οἷς τὰ σφόδρα πλείστα· ἀλλ',
ὥσπερ ἄρα τοῦ τῶν λόγων, οὐδὲ ἀφῆκε ἀν τὸν γρα-
φοῦντα μᾶλλον τῶν Ξενοφωντείων, ἢ αὐτὸν τοῦ
τῶν ἀφωνιῶν ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ ἄνοιαν τρόπον ὑπο-
19 βάλλοντα· καὶ ἀνοιλαμβάνοντα μόνον, εἰ δὲ μᾶλλον
μεμιμοῦνται, τὸ αὐτὸν ἀφωνοῦν· τῷ τε γὰρ

[1] ἀκούοντες Reiske: ἀκούουσιν

[1] That is, the Anabasis or Journey Inland. It is strange that he [illegible] mention [illegible] propriety.

[2] Says Reiske [illegible] in the text of classical [illegible] used a literary criticism.

those who are needlessly disturbed without giving offence and to make them believe it how not to trust too readily those in authority over you, and the means by which such persons deceive their inferiors and the way in which men corrupt and are corrupted on all these points Xenophon's treatise gives adequate information. For I imagine that it is because he combines deeds with words because he did not learn by hearsay nor by copying but by doing deeds himself as well as telling of them, that he made his speeches most convincingly true to life in all his works and especially in the one which I chanced to mention. And he will assure you that you will have no occasion to repent, but that both in the senate and before the people you will find the great man reaching out a hand to you if you earnestly and diligently read him.

Writing, however, I do not advise you to engage in with your own hand, or only very rarely, but rather to dictate to a secretary. For in the first place, the one who utters his thoughts aloud is more nearly in the mood of a man addressing an audience than is one who writes and in the second place less labour is involved. Again, while it contributes less to effectiveness in delivery than writing does, it contributes more to your habit of readiness. But when you do write, I do not think it best for you to write these made-up school exercises, yet if you must write take one of the speeches that you are reading preferably one of Xenophon's, and either phrase what he said or advance the same arguments in a different way. And yet repeating what our speeches contain is better still if you have a good memory for it. For this makes one thoroughly

τρόπῳ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν διανοημάτων πάνυ συνήθεις ποιεῖ λέγω δὲ οὐχ ἵνα σύνταγμα τι ὅλον, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες, εἴρων συνάπτῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἴ τί σοι σφόδρα ἀρέσειε, τοῦτο κατασχῇς. πλεῖστα περὶ τούτου μειρακίῳ ἂν ἔγραψα, σοὶ δὲ ἀρκεῖ τοσαῦτα καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐλάχιστα ἀναλάβοις, πολὺ ὀνήσει· καὶ εἰ δυσκόλως ἔχοις καὶ μετὰ ὀδύνης πράττοις, οὐκ ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀναγκαῖον.

20 Ἀλλὰ ἔοικα μὲν πάνυ μηκῦναι τὴν συμβουλίαν· οἱ δὲ αἴτιος ἀναπείσας καὶ προκαλεσάμενος ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν πάλῃ ὑπερέχοντες τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ὑπείκοντες ἐνιότε ἐποίησαν[1] αὐτοὺς πείθεσθαι ἰσχυροτέρους εἶναι καὶ σὺ ἔοικας, ἃ κρεῖττον τυγχάνεις εἰδώς, ἐμὲ προτρέψαι ὡς ἔλαττον ἐπισταμένῳ γράψαι βουλοίμην δ' ἄν, εἴ σοι κεχαρισμένον εἴη, καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ποτε ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι, ἵνα καὶ ἐντυγχάνοντες τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν χρησιμοί τι γενόμεθα[2]

21 ὥσπερ τοῖς ζωγράφοις καὶ πλάσταις οὐκ ἀπόχρη εἰπεῖν ὅτι δεῖ τοιάδε τὰ[3] χρώματα εἶναι καὶ τοιάσδε τὰς γραμμάς, ἀλλὰ μεγίστη ὠφέλεια, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ἢ γράφοντας ἢ πλάττοντας ἴδοι καὶ ὡς τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις οὐκ ἀρκεῖ εἰπεῖν τὰ παλαισματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι ἀνάγκη τῷ μαθησομένῳ οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συμβουλαις

[1] ἐποίησαν Emperius. ὀνήνεισαν UB, ἐν ἔπεσον M.
[2] γενόμεθα Emperius. ἐγενόμεθα.
[3] τὰ added by Pflugk.

familiar with both the way he expresses his thoughts and the [illegible] with which his thoughts are conceived. I say this not to discourage you to strive together, [illegible] but that you may [illegible] [illegible] I should have written at greater length about [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

πλείων ἡ ὠφέλεια γίγνοιτ' ἄν, εἴ τις αὐτὸν πράττοντα ἴδοι τὸν συμβεβουλευκότα. ὡς ἔγωγε, καὶ εἰ ἀναγιγνώσκειν με δέοι σοῦ ἀκροωμένου, τῆς σῆς ἕνεκα ὠφελείας οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι, στέργων τέ σε καὶ τῆς σῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀγάμενος καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ τιμῆς χάριν εἰδώς.

would be greater if one were to see the man who has given the advice in action himself. I declare for my part that even if I had to read aloud to you while you listened, for the sake of helping you I should not hesitate, since I both love you and admire you for your ambition, and am grateful for the honour you have shown me.

THE NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON THE AUTHOR'S FONDNESS FOR LISTENING TO MUSIC, THE DRAMA, AND ORATORY

In this fragment Dio relates an incident which occurred during his exile. He had come to Corinth to meet some friends and fellow townsmen who evidently wished him to deliver an address in which he should tell the story of his wanderings; but he was saved from doing so by the arrival of a bard who drew the attention of all. Dio concluded, to himself, Then he speaks of the great pleasure he gets in listening to those who sing and play the lyre and to actors. This leads him to refer to the state of Comedy and Tragedy in his day. At this point the Discourse as we have it breaks off, and we can only conjecture as to what was the subject of the Discourse proper. Possibly Dio went on to speak in detail of music or of the drama.

This pleasing introduction to his main subject reminds us of the seventh Discourse, in vol. I., where Dio tells of his experience with the hunters of Euboea in order to secure our attention to what follows.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἧκεν ὁ ἄριστος τῶν νῦν κιθαρῳδῶν, ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασιν, οὐδὲ τῶν πρότερον οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἀρίονος τοῦ ἐκ [1] πελάγους, μαντευόμενοι δῆλον ὅτι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἰδεῖεν τὰ σαφὲς οὐκ ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνου; ὡς δ' οὖν τάχιστα ᾔσθοντο ἐπιδημοῦντα τὸν ἄνδρα, εὐθὺς καὶ σπουδῇ ἀμήχανος καὶ πάντες ἐβάδιζον εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον.

8 ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ἐξεῖναι νομίζων καὶ ἡμῖν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν οὕτω καλῆς εὐαχίας ἐν ἀνθρώποις τρισχιλίοις καὶ πλείοσιν, ἧκον ἐν πρώτοις πάνυ θαρρῶν εἰμὶ δὲ φιλήκοος καὶ φιλόμουσος ἀτεχνῶς, οὐ πάνυ ἔμπειρος ὢν μουσικῆς· ὥστε εἴπερ ἔτυχον γεγονὼς κατὰ ταὐτὸν Ὀρφεῖ, δοκῶ μοι, πρῶτος ἂν ἐπηκολούθουν, εἰ καὶ ἔδει μετὰ νεβρῶν τινων ἢ μόσχων, οὐδὲν αἰδούμενος ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάσχω πολλάκις, ἐπειδὰν εἰσαφίκωμαι σοφιστοῦ, διὰ τὴν προσοῦσάν μοι ἀκρασίαν [2] περὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ μετὰ τοιούτων συναγελάζομαι θρεμμάτων, ὡραίων καὶ καλῶν, ἄλλως δὲ θορυβούντων καὶ σκιρτᾶν προθυμουμένων

9 Τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθα πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς τε καὶ ῥήτορας ἅπαντας σχεδόν καθάπερ οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ τοὺς μετρίως εὐπόρους μακαρίζουσι διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν κἀγὼ τοὺς ἀμηγέπῃ δυνατοὺς λέγειν θαυμάζω καὶ ἀγαπῶ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸς ἀδύνατος

[1] τοῦ ἐκ Reiske = ἐκ τοῦ.
[2] ἀκρασίαν Casaubon . ἀκράσιν UB, ἀκροᾶσιν M.

For there came to Crotona a bard who, as some assert, in the vein of theme of this time and in fact a man inferior not even to any of the great bards of the past, nay not even to Arion, who was saved from the sea, they must evidently have judged by divination, for how else could they be sure when they had not heard that famous bard of old? And as soon as they learned that the man was in town, extraordinary transportation was aroused and all the people began to wend their way to the music house. So I too, thinking that I also might see and hear such a man in such a special entertainment as one of the thing I have thousand and more, arrived among the first, very expectant, indeed. I am fond of indulging my ears and also very devoted to music, and I have no great trouble in understanding it, so that if I had been my fortune to live in Orpheus' time, I fancy that I should have been the first one to follow in his train, even though I should have been obliged to move with a crowd of fauns and satyrs, and I should have felt no shame. For even now I am often affected as they were, whenever I attend a sophist's lecture, on account of the encounter of raving which possesses me for the speaker's sake, and so I tend with the sort of creatures, have mentioned graceful and beautiful, to be sure, but yet noisy and eager for a chance to kick up their heels.

And this is the way I have nearly always been affected when listening to sophists and orators. Just as beggars on account of their own destitution envy the moderately well-to-do, so I admire and applaud those who are in any way at all proficient in speech, because I myself am seeking in such

εἶναι λέγειν. τὸ μέντοι τῶν κιθαρῳδῶν τε καὶ νὴ Δία τῶν ὑποκριτῶν οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον μοι δοκεῖ διαφέρειν πρὸς ἡδονήν· ἥ[1] τε γὰρ φωνὴ μείζων καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἐμμελεστέρα,[2] ἥ τε λέξις[3] οὐκ αὐτοσχέδιος, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐξ ὑπογύου τὰ πολλὰ πειρωμένων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ποιητῶν ἐπι-
6 μελῶς καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν πεποιηκοτων. καὶ τά γε[4] πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἀρχαῖά ἐστι καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν νῦν· τὰ μὲν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἅπαντα, τῆς δὲ τραγῳδίας τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρά, ὡς ἔοικε, μένει λέγω δὲ τὰ ἰαμβεῖα, καὶ τούτων μέρη διεξίασιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις· τὰ δὲ μαλακώτερα ἐξερρύηκε, τὰ περὶ τὰ μέλη· ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τῶν ἀνθρωπων τῶν παλαιῶν ὅσα μέν ἐστι στερεὰ τοῦ σώματος ὑπομένει τῷ χρόνῳ, τά τε ὀστᾶ καὶ οἱ μύες, τἆλλα

[1] ἥ added by Emperius.
[2] ἐμμελεστέρα Wilamowitz : ἐπιμελεστέρα.
[3] λέξις Reiske, ἕξις BM, ἕξις U.
[4] γε Reiske : τε.

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[1] Dio means that when a comedy of earlier times was presented, every part of it was played—the choral or lyrical parts as well as the dialogue—but that in giving a tragedy they dispensed with the chorus and the lyrical parts which it sang, and that even some of the dialogue was omitted. In this way those tragedies of an earlier time were adapted to the taste of Dio's time and made similar to tragedies written then.

At first the songs of the chorus had been integral parts of the tragedy. The chorus itself played the part of an actor. But after Æschylus introduced a second actor, the chorus became less important, and still less so when Sophocles introduced a

proficiency. But I must say that the performance of those who sing to the harp are, and of the actors too, seems to me in [illegible] degree superior in the pleasure it gives. For he [illegible] wonder and [illegible] better [illegible] when their language [illegible] the that of the actors who generally try to speak without preparation, but poets have composed [illegible] and at their leisure. And the most of what they give us comes from ancient times and from much wiser men than those of the present. In the case of comedy everything is [illegible] in the case of tragedy [illegible] strange parts it would seem, remain [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] theatres that [illegible] parts have fallen away that in the [illegible] parts. [illegible] in the case of outmoded [illegible] the firm parts of the [illegible] resist the ravages of time, namely, the history and the third order. Thus Euripides showed a tendency to write the [illegible] of the [illegible] Agathon [illegible] the [illegible] with the [illegible] matter of the [illegible] tragedy [illegible] stage [illegible] time [illegible] Euripides [illegible] time tragedies [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] the statements of Aristotle [illegible] in the poem [illegible] Poetics [illegible] and these [illegible] the [illegible] parts [illegible] have any close connection with the development of the plot.

δὲ ἐλάττω γίγνεται.[1] οὐκοῦν τὰ σώματα ὁρᾶται τὰ τῶν παντελῶς γεροντων ἐνδεδωκότα καὶ λαγαρά· ὅσοι δ' αὖ παχεῖς γέροντες ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς, ἰσχυροῦ μὲν οὐδενος προσόντος ἔτι, πιμελῆς δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν σαρκῶν, εὐτραφεῖς δὴ ὁρῶνται καὶ νεώτεροι τοῖς πολλοῖς.[2]

[1] γίγνεται Emperius τείνεται.
[2] Selden believed a good deal was lacking at the end.

muscles; but everything else shrivels up. This is the reason that the bodies of extremely old men are seen to be wasted and shrunken, whereas all those old men who are corpulent because of their wealth and luxury, although they have no strength left but only fat instead of flesh, do seem well nourished and younger to the great majority.[1]

[1] The cause of the corpulence of some old men has nothing corresponding to it in Tragedy so that here Dio is wandering from his subject—a thing which he himself more than once admits that he is prone to do.

THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON RETIREMENT

How Dio discusses the [illegible] meaning of retirement. It does not [illegible] a duty or a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

20. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΕΩΣ

Τί γαρ ποτε τὸ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεώς ἐστι καὶ τίνας χρὴ τιθέναι τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας, εἰρή γε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἔργων αὐτοῖς καὶ πράξεων ἀφιστάμενοι, τούτους χρὴ φάσκειν ἀναχωρεῖν, οἷον εἴ τις Ἀθηναῖος ὢν δέον αὐτὸν στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσβεβληκότων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἢ Φιλίππου ἐπιόντος ἢ ἄλλων πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ ἀναχωρήσειεν[1] εἰς Μέγαρα ἢ Αἴγιναν ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν, οὗτος ἂν[2] ἀνακεχωρηκέναι λέγοιτο, ἢ εἴ τις συχνὴν οὐσίαν κεκτημένος ἕνεκα τοῦ διαφυγεῖν
2 τινὰς λειτουργίας ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἢ εἴ τις ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἱκανὸς ὤν, καὶ φίλων δὴ καὶ ἐπιτηδείων αὐτῷ καμνόντων, ὅπως μὴ κακοπαθῇ καὶ πράγματα ἔχῃ τούτους θεραπεύων, ἀπολίποι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποδημήσειεν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλος, ἐν πόλει δέον ἐξετάζεσθαι

[1] ἀναχωρήσειεν Emperius: ἀναχωρεῖν.
[2] ἂν added by Emperius.

[1] Compare Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 21 ff.
[2] The λειτουργία was a public service which wealthy men of Athens, and of some other Greek states, were required to perform at their own expense in order to lighten the financial burdens of the state as such. At Athens there were both ordinary and extraordinary ones. Of the former kind the most important was the χορηγία, that is, paying the expense

THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON RETIREMENT

Just what may be the meaning of the word "retirement" and whom would we define as men who are "retiring"? Just those who are giving up their proper tasks and activities of whom we should say that they are "retiring"? For example, if some one envying Athenian citizenship when the obligation falls on him to serve in the defense of his country because the Spartans have invaded Attica, or Philip is attacking them, or some other enemy, should leave or withdraw to Megara or Aegina in order to avoid serving or risking his life, would this man be described as having retired? Of course one who possesses a great fortune should for the sake of avoiding the public services required of the rich leave the city? Or a man who is qualified to heal the sick and then when the sick are dead and relatives of his, should abandon them and go on a visit to some other place in order to avoid catching the disease and the trouble of treating them? Or if somebody else, on being required to present himself for public

of outfitting and training a chorus for one of the Athenian state festivals in which were included the tragic contests and also the [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] to equip a trireme and to maintain it in service for a year.

καὶ αὐτὸν ἄρχειν καὶ ἀρχαῖς ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ φυλακάς τινας φυλαττεῖν, ἀγρυπνεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τούτων ἀπηλλαγμένος ἀπαντῶν ἔσται καὶ μηδὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξελεγξει[1] μηδὲ κωλύσει[2] πίνοντα καὶ καθεύδοντα καὶ ῥαθυμοῦντα, ἑτέρωσε ἀποχωροῖ ποι—ἆρα τούτους ἀναχωρεῖν ῥητέον, ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν δῆλον ὅτι φεύγουσι τε καὶ ἀραπετεύουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη προφάσις αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ συγγνώμη τῆς τοιαύτης σχολῆς τε καὶ ἀποδράσεως

2 Μὴ οὖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωφελῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν οἱ προσηκουσῶν αὐτοῖς ασχολιῶν ἀπιόντας καὶ σχολήν τινα ποιοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων μάτην ῥητέον ὡς ἀναχωροῦντας ἀλλ' οὕτως μέν, οὐχ ὁ μεταβὰς ἐκ πόλεως τινος εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἢ ἐκ τόπου εἰς ἕτερον τόπον ἀναχωρεῖν λέγοιτ' ἄν ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ἀφίκηται, πολλὰ ἂν εἴη τὰ ἐμποδὼν αὐτῷ γιγνόμενα καὶ οὐκ ἐῶντα τὰ προσηκοντα ποιεῖν καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπὶ πολύ τῷ ξυνεῖναι καὶ τὸ πίνοντα ἢ κυβεύοντα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν βλαβερῶν καὶ δυσμόρων πράττοντα διατελεῖν, παντάχοῦ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, καὶ τὸ συνδιατρίβειν ἀεὶ τῷ ἐντυχόντι ἀδολεσχοῦντα καὶ ἀκούοντα λόγων οὐδὲν χρησίμων ἢ περὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα διατρίβειν ἢ τὰ[3] τοῦ δεῖνος, ὡς ἔφη

4 τις οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνόητος τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς κύριος, ἀλλὰ ῥεμβόμενός τε καὶ ἀγόμενος ῥᾴδιως ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως καὶ ὁμιλίας

[1] ἐξελεγξει. Williamowitz. ἐξελεγξε.
[2] κωλύσει. Williamowitz. κωλύοις.
[3] τὰ Morel. τὰ.

duty in the city along with the rest, should be wishing to lead an office or [illegible] office or do any service as good which would [illegible] has [illegible] but to [illegible] be [illegible] as these [illegible] and [illegible] each one man [illegible] to account [illegible] hinder him from doing and [illegible] any matter, should retire [illegible] place should these men be described as retiring? No, these men are cowards fleeing and deserting and there can be no excuse for them or pardon for taking a vacation in this manner and running away.

It may be then that it is those who withdraw from unprofitable enterprises and time consuming [illegible] which do not [illegible] them and who get the [illegible] more [illegible] from [illegible] that should be [illegible] as retiring. If that is right, it is not the man who has moved from [illegible] another one or from one place to another that [illegible] be [illegible] as retiring. For wherever he goes, there will be many things getting in his way and not allowing him to do the things which [illegible] concerns him. For the fact is that spending much time in [illegible] and in [illegible] doing or doing some other [illegible] and [illegible] are practised to be met with everywhere, and wasting a man's time in [illegible] with anyone who happens to meet and in listening to talk that is [illegible] or spending your time discoursing about the affairs of the Emperor or of what's his name, as some one has said. For the fool is not master of his own soul, but is whirled this way and that and is easily led by any chance pretext or association.

[1] Cf. Lysias 16 [illegible] and [illegible] 10 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Consequently the majority of men are just like spendthrifts who would be unable to render an account [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

εἰς Κόρινθον ἢ Θήβας ἀνακεχωρηκέναι, τὸ δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον πρὸς αὐτῷ εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ πανταχοῦ σχεδὸν οὗ τις ἂν ἀπελθῇ[1] τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔνεστι τό τε ἀργεῖν καὶ τὸ ῥᾳθυμεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσει προφάσεως, ὅπου ἂν τύχῃ ὤν, δι' ἣν βλακεύων τε καὶ ἀσχολούμενος ἀναλώσει καὶ πάνυ πολὺν χρόνον, ἂν οὕτως τύχῃ. μὴ οὖν βελτίστη καὶ λυσιτελεστάτη πασῶν ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναχώρησις καὶ τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν, ἐάν τ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τύχῃ τις ὤν ἐάν τ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐάν τ' ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἐάν τ' ἐν νήσῳ μικρᾷ καὶ μόνος· αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται ἀναχωρήσεις καὶ ἀποδημίαι μικράν τινα ἔχουσι ῥοπὴν πρὸς τὸ σχολὴν ἄγειν καὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ δέοντα· ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ἐφ' ἑτέρας καὶ ἑτέρας κλίνας κατακλίνεσθαι φέρει μέν τινα ἐνίοτε μικρὰν ἀνάπαυσιν, οὐ μὴν ἱκανήν γε οὐδ' ὥστε ἀπαλλάξαι· ἰδεῖν τε ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ πάνυ πολλῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ πλήθει οὐ κωλυόμενον πράττειν ἕκαστον τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ὅ τε αὐλῶν ἢ διδάσκων αὐλεῖν ταῦτο ποιεῖ, πολλάκις ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἔχων, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐξίστησι τὸ

[1] ἀνέλθῃ Dindorf ἀνέλθοι.

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[1] Corinth was noted for its elegant and expensive women, Thebes for its dullness. Cf. the proverb: "Not every man can afford the trip to Corinth"—οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἐλθεῖν ὁ πλοῦς.

[1] Seneca (*Letters* 56, 5) says: "Of what advantage is silence all around if the feelings are clamouring?" Quid prodest

retired to Corinth or to Thebes? but rather the being occupied with one's own self when one so wishes. [illegible] Delos and in Mycale yet anywhere almost that one may go whether in Greece or in Italy it is possible for one to live [illegible] and to take care of one's self and one will not seek a pretext wherever he appears to be for spending with a good deal of time if he so happens, in busying oneself with affairs as well as in idling. I am therefore inclined to think that the best and most profitable kind of retirement is withdrawal into oneself and giving attention to one's own concerns whether one happens to be in Babylon or in Athens or in a military camp or alone on a little island? For retirements and withdrawings abroad of the kind we have mentioned [illegible] to one's own leisure and doing only what one ought to do. Some persons, for instance by changing from one bed to another do sometimes get a relief of [illegible] not enough nor such as would rid them of their malady. And we often see how even in the midst of a very great turmoil and throng the individual is not hampered in carrying on his own occupation but, on the contrary, he who is playing the flute or teaching a pupil to play it devotes himself to that, often heeding schools in the very street, and the crowd

[illegible] regions about us in adhesive fragments? Compare also M. [illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible] —

πλήθος οὐδὲ ὁ θόρυβος τῶν παιδοτρίβων, ὁ τε ὀργιομανὴς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὀρχηστοδιδασκαλος πρὸς τούτῳ ἐστιν, ἀμελήσας τῶν μαχομένων τε καὶ ἀποδυομένων καὶ ἄλλα πραττόντων ὁ τε κιθαριστὴς ὁ τε ζωγράφος· ὁ δὲ πάντων σφοδρότατον[1] ἐστιν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων διδάσκαλοι μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καθῆνται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμποδών ἐστιν ἐν τοσούτῳ πλήθει
10 τοῦ διδάσκειν τε καὶ μανθάνειν· ἤδη δέ ποτε εἶδον ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦ ἱππόδρομου βαδίζων πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπους ἄλλο τι πράττοντας τὸν μὲν αὐλοῦντα, τὸν δὲ ᾄδοντα, τὸν δὲ θαυμα ἀποδιδόντα, τὸν δὲ ποιήμα ἀναγιγνώσκοντα, τὸν δὲ φράζοντα, τὸν δὲ ἱστορίαν τινὰ ἢ μύθον διηγούμενον· καὶ οὐδὲ εἷς τούτων οὐδένα ἐκώλυεν προσέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ προκείμενον πράττειν.

11 Καίτοι τούτων οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν ἔργων ὃ σώζει τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ καθιστησι καὶ καταφρονεῖν ποιεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων· παιδιὰ δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ φιλοσοφία αἱ μάλιστα τοῦτο διαπράττονται, πολλὴν ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως τυγχάνουσι δεόμεναι· καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ πάντα χαθεν ἐστι σιωπὴ τε καὶ ἡσυχία, οὐ δυνατὸν ὑγιεῖ μεταλαβεῖν, οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς φιλολόγοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ὑποσιγήσουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ μήτε ἄρμα μηδὲν ἄλλο ἔστω μήτε ἀκουσμάτος ἀκούειν μηδενός, οὐκ ἄρα οἵα τε ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς αὐτῆς[2] προσέχειν καὶ περὶ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι.

12 Ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ἄρα καὶ τοὺς πλήσιον τῆς θαλάττης

[1] σφοδρότατον Emperius: ἀνιαρότατον.
[2] αὐτῆς Reiske: αὐτῷ BM, αὐτοῖς.

does not distract him at all, nor the din made by the passersby, and the dancer, acrobat, or dancing master is engrossed, who will be quite utterly heedless of those who are fighting and crying and doing other things, and so also with the dancer and the painter, that here is the most extreme case of

These elementary teachers also, he secretly with their pupils and [illegible] from [illegible] and [illegible]. And [illegible] seeing, [illegible] through the [illegible] many [illegible] and each one doing [illegible] another [illegible] another doing a [illegible] trick, another reading a book about another singing, and another [illegible] one of them presented [illegible] and [illegible] to his own business and doing the work that he had in hand.

However, you will reject there is none of these occupations that concentrates the mind, steadies it, and causes it to look with disdain upon all other things, and education, apparently, and philosophy, which best accomplishes this, are great sedatives and retirement. And just as the dice, when there is a crisis and just as about them are [illegible] to get any sleep, so you see it is with seekers after learning: unless everything about them is quiet and unless there is nothing distracting to be seen or heard, their mind will find it impossible to give attention to its own affairs and to concentrate on these.

Yet I for my part notice that people who live

[1] The hippodrome, or track for chariot racing, was found in many [illegible]. The most famous one was at Olympia. For a description of it see Pausanias 6. 20. 10 ff.

οὐδὲν πάσχουσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφείσθαι δυναμένους ἐν δυνάμει διαφείσθαι καὶ λέγοντας καὶ ἀκούοντας καὶ καθεύδοντας ὅποταν αὐτοῖς ἡ καιρός, ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται προσήκειν αὐτῆς τοῦ ψόφου· τούτου οὐδὲ φροντίζουσιν· εἰ δέ γε ἐβούλοντο προσέχειν ὁπότε μείζων ἢ ἐλάττων γίγνοιτο ἦχος ἢ διαριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα τά[1] προσπίπτοντα ἢ τοὺς λάρους τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὄρνεα ἰδεῖν, ὅπως ἐνίοτε πίπτουσι ἐπὶ τὰ κύματα καὶ πηγνύουσι ῥᾴδιον ἐπ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἦν αὐτοῖς σχολὴ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖν.

13 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις δύναιτο ἀνοήτου περὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ θορύβου τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ γιγνομένων, οὐκ ἂν ἀνοχλοῖτο ὑπὸ πάντων[2]· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλοῦ δέον τι[3] μάθημα καὶ διδάγμα, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω ἐκεῖσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἄττα τρέπεσθαι ἢ τὰ τε προσήκοντα καὶ

14 δικαίοντα ὀρθῶς ἔχειν· καὶ ἡμῖν[4] οὕτως εἰωθότα ἡ ψυχὴ λόγῳ διαιτᾶται ἄττα διαπράττεσθαι τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτῇ· ἢ δὲ ῥαμβίζεται τε καὶ ἀλύουσα καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπ' ἄλλα τρέπεται, ὅταν τι προφαίνῃ ποτὲ ἡδύτερον τινὸς ἢ ἀφελιμώτερον ἔχον· ὥσπερ ὕδατος ἐν ἀτροκλινεῖ χωρίῳ ὄντος ἔτυχε τρεπομένου, οὐδὲν ἂν ὠφεληθείη[5] οὐδ' ἄνευ τῆς πάσης πονήσεώς τε καὶ ἀρετῆς.

15 Οἶδα γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὰς μὲν καλῶς

[1] [illegible] Morel [illegible] [2] τε added by Reiske.
[3] [illegible] [illegible] Gael
[4] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[5] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[6] [illegible] Casaubon [illegible]

by the sea are not affected by its sounds but are able to put their minds on anything they like, that they speak and listen and sleep when they feel that the time has come for these things because they think that the sound is no concern of theirs and so do not mind it. But if they did care to take notice when the roar increased or diminished, or to count the waves that break upon the shore or to watch the gulls and other birds how they alight on the waves and feed upon them, they would not have time to do anything else.

So too, the man who can bring himself to reflect in regard to the crowds and the din they raise and their various affairs that these things differ not one whit from what takes place on the sea will not be troubled by any of them. Nay, we have in this it would seem a very valuable lesson and bit of instruction—that we should accustom the mind to follow reason[1] and not to be diverted to any other thing whatsoever than the matters which are before it and thought to be strong. And when we have thus accustomed the mind by reason will be able to accompany us in its proper work, but the mind that spins this way and flies and flagets and turns to one thing after another, whenever anything comes in sight at any time which offers some pleasure or vexation, like water that turns in every way as it chances on a piece of uneven ground, will derive no benefit whatever from even perfect quiet and serenity.

I myself know that when well trained[2] and willing

[1] Socrates was ever exhorting his hearers to do this. See, for example, Plato, *Gorgias* 527 a.

[2] The [illegible] also in Xenophon, *Memorabilia of Socrates* 4. 1. 1.

ἀχθέσας καὶ φιλοπόνους,[1] ἐπειδὰν ἀφεθῶσιν, εὐθὺς ἀναζητοῦσας τὸ ἴχνος, καὶ οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἀποκαλοῖεν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοῦτο ἀπολειπουσας,[2] οὐδ' εἰ πολλαὶ μὲν φωναὶ πανταχόθεν φέροιντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ὀσμαὶ ἀπό τε τῶν καπνῶν καὶ ἀνθῶν ἐμπλέκοιντο, πολὺ δὲ[3] πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἄλλων ζῴων φαίνοιτο καὶ ἴχνη τὰ μὲν ἵππων, τὰ δὲ βοῶν, τὰ δὲ προβάτων· οὐδὲν οὔτε ὁρᾷ τούτων οὔτε αἰσθάνεται αὐτῶν οὐδένος, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα παριδοῦσα πανταχοῦ ἐκλέγει τὸ ἴχνος κἀκείνῳ ἕπεται μέχρις ἂν εὕρῃ τε καὶ ἀναστήσῃ τὸν λαγών, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέχει διωκουσα, δι' ὁπόσων ἂν ποτε ἴῃ χωρίων, καὶ οὔτε πεδίον οὔτε ὄδους οὔτε τὰ λίαν τραχέα οὔτε χαράδρα ἢ ῥεῦμα ἀποκωλύει αὐτήν, πολλοὺς τινας δρόμους τοῦ λαγὼ θέοντος καὶ πειρωμένου
16 ἐξαπατᾶν· τὰς δὲ ἀμαθίας τε καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους κινᾷ βραδέως μὲν αἰσθανομένας, ταχέως δὲ ἀπαγορευούσας, εἰ δὲ ποθεν ἀλλαχόθεν προσπέσοι θρόος, εἴτε ὑλακὴ κυνῶν εἴτε ἀνθρώπων φθεγξαμένων ὁδοιπόρων ἢ νομέων, εὐθὺς ἀνακινοῦσας ἐκ τοῦ ἴχνους κἀκεῖ φερομένας· τούτων δὴ πάντων, ὅπερ ἔφην, τὸ ἦθος αἴτιον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθίζειν ἂν δοκοῦν μηδέποτε ἀποτρέπεσθαι μηδὲ ἀναχωρεῖν τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι προσήκοντος ἔργου· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ ῥᾴδιον περιγενέσθαι οὐδὲ ἐξεργάσασθαι οὐδὲν ἱκανῶς.

17 Ἢ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις καὶ ἡσυχίαις, οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα ἀνευρήκασιν οἱ ἀνόητοι ἄνθρωποι, ὅπως μηδὲν διακοῦσιν τῶν δεόντων, ἕτερα

[1] φιλοπόνους Dindorf φιλόπονοι
[2] ἀπολειπουσας Wilamowitz ἀπολιπουσας.

dogs are unleashed they straightway pick up the trail and not even if a [illegible] hunters should try to call them back would they ever have [illegible] not even if many times [illegible] reach them and [illegible] from the fruits and flowers [illegible] with the scent and a great host of men and other creatures should come to view and tracks of horses were and [illegible] sheep there. Such a big [illegible] of these things [illegible] [illegible] the trail as [illegible] and [illegible] the trade and pass up the [illegible] and after [illegible] keeps up the pursuit [illegible] what [illegible] he has to pass through and neither pain nor [illegible] nor [illegible] ground but as the [illegible] stream can [illegible] in its attempt to put [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] the trail and [illegible] up the hare and if a noise reaches their ears from any quarter, whether the barking of dogs or the shouting of men [illegible] or herdsmen [illegible] their noses from the trail and [illegible] off in that direction. For all these things just as I have said habit is responsible. And in the same way the mind also should be made accustomed never to turn aside or [illegible] from what it regards as its proper work. Otherwise it will not be easy to rise above one's surroundings or to accomplish anything satisfactory.

Or is it not in [illegible] and places undisturbed by sounds or clamor, here that [illegible] men trying not to concentrate their thoughts upon the contrival

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* [illegible] : [illegible]

πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα διανοήματα, οἷς ἀγανῶσι ξυνόντες, τυραννίδας τε καὶ πλούτους καὶ ἀλλ' ἄττα θαυμαστὰ ἀναπλαττόντες αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν θησαυροὺς τινας ἀνασκάπτοντες[1] χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου πλῆθος ἐξαίφνης ἀμηχανον ὅσον πτώμενοι, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς τε καὶ μοναρχοὺς πόλεων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν ἀποδεικνύντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἔπειτα ἤδη τὰ ἑξῆς περὶ τὴν τυραννίδα πάντα πράττοντες, τοὺς μὲν τινας ἀποκτιννύντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐλαύνοντες, παρθένους δὲ καὶ μειρακίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ πλησιάζοντες οἷς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἑστιάσεων δὲ[2] καὶ εὐωχιῶν τῶν πολυτελεστάτων μεταλαμβάνοντες,
18 οἱ δὲ τινες ἀργύριον ἐκδανειζόντες ἢ ἄλλας ἐργασίας, οἷον ἀγρηγοροῦντες τε καὶ ὁρῶντες ἀνείρατα ποικίλα καὶ παντοδαπὰ πλαττόντες αὐτοῖς ἐνίοτε γε μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνειράτων τούτων ἀποβαίνει καὶ ὕπαρ αὐτοῖς τὰ φαυλότατα καὶ ἀτοπώτατα τυραννίδες μὲν γὰρ οὐ πάνυ τι ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων γίγνονται· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει ἡ τυραννὶς ὑπὸ βαθύμου τε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀεὶ κοιμωμένης διάνοιας θηρεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ὑπὸ δριμείας τε καὶ ἀγρύπνου φροντίδος· δαπάναι δὲ καὶ ἔρωτες καὶ τοιαῦταί τινες διατριβαὶ πολλοῖς ἤδη πολλάκις ἐπήρτησαν.

19 Οἷον δὴ ἐγὼ οἶμαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἐτύγχανε σχολὴν ἄγων ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ περὶ τὰ βουκόλια, τοιαύτης ἥσσας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὡς ἄρα εὐδαιμόν τε καὶ μακάριον τὸ τὴν πασῶν κάλλιστην γυναῖκα ἔχειν, καὶ οὔτε βασιλεῖα τούτου ἄξιον τοῦ χρήματος οὔτε πλούτος οὔτε κρατεῖν μαχόμενον

[1] ἀνασκάπτοντες Graf ἀνασκλάπτοντες.
[2] δὲ added by Emperius.

things have conjured up many strange imaginings, things amid which they yearn to live showing for themselves in fancy mere [illegible] power and riches and other such marvels. Some dig up treasures of gold and silver and thus suddenly come into possession of an enormous quantity of them, and others make themselves emperors and absolute rulers of cities and nations. In strange ways putting into practice everything that goes with tyranny, killing some to death and vanishing others, making free with any virgins or boys or matrons that they choose, and taking part in the most costly banquets and feasts, some put out money on usury or engage in other enterprises, dreaming all kinds of bright dreams to themselves just as if they were wide awake with their eyes open. Are and sometimes to be sure as the result of these losses these come for them the most tragic and absurd awakening from such dreams. For tyrannies are not at all easy to spring from such things, since a tyrannis is not apt to be sought by a mind that is sobbing and in a sense always asleep, but on the contrary by keen and unsleeping thought. But lavish expenditures love intrigues, and such like adventures have undoubtedly of course an to the art of many.

I may cite Alexander[1] as an instance. I fancy that when he happened to be enjoying a respite from his herdsman's duties on Mount Ida, the thought and with it the desire came to him, what a fortunate and beautiful thing it would be to have the most beautiful woman in the whole world to wife and that no other a throne was as valuable as this prize, nor wealth, nor the conquest of the whole world in war, next he

[1] More commonly known as Paris.

ἀναιτίους διήρουν, μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν διανοεῖσθαι
τις τε[1] δὴ καὶ παρὰ τίνων ἡ πολυπόνη γῆ καὶ
8 πολύχρυσος ἂν εἴη τοιούτους ἐπαρξάμενος καὶ δὴ
τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἴλιον ἀφικόμενος καὶ πολιορκούσας ἀπὸ τριετοῦς
ὢν στρατιᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ ἑκατὸν ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τρίτῳ τυχεῖν,
ὁπόσας δὴ καὶ τὰς Λυδῶν τε καὶ Φρυγῶν, τάς τε ἐν Λεσβῷ καὶ τὰς ἐν Μυσίᾳ γυναικας ἐπεφανεστάτας δὲ ἐν Σμύρνῃ τίνα εἶναι Δίου λόγοι τὴν θυγατέρα Μεγάλου πατακοῦσαι αὐτὸν βίᾳ καὶ βασιλίδα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἐμπειρίᾳ τε καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ λαμπρὰν πολλὰ ἔδοκα καὶ δοῦρα διοικεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι τε καὶ ἄριστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀδελφὼ ἀγαθὼ ἐλέγετο εἶναι Ἰλιὰ δὴ καὶ Κύπρον, Διὸς υἱὼ γενομένω ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ταύτῃ
9 γενέσθαι τὸν γάμον. ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ τι πολὺ διοικεῖν εἰ δὲ θεὸς τις ὑποσχοίτο καὶ δοῖ, τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο τοιοῦτον καὶ τινα δὴ θεὸν ἄλλον εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας χαρίζεσθαι χάριτας ἢ τὴν προστάτιν τε καὶ ἀρχὴν τῶν περὶ τοὺς γάμους τε καὶ ἔρωτας, οὐκοῦν[2] ἀνεμὸς δίδοιμι δίδοιτο ἄν τὸν γάμον πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔτι μὴ θεοὶ χαρίσοιθ' ἢ εἰ τρόπον τινὰ γένοιτο αὐτοῖς προσφέρειν τῇ θεῷ καὶ δωρεάν τινα καὶ χάριν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ χρήματων αὐτῷ τυγχάνειν δεόμενος, ἐπεὶ χρυσῆν οὖσαν καὶ πάντα χρήματα ἁπλῶς κεκτημένος,

[1] τε Emperius. [2] οὐκοῦ added by Arnim.
[3] οὐκοῦν Arnim.

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[1] That is, Agamemnon.

[2] A play upon the word χρυσός, golden, because of the wealth of her shrines and the golden adornment of her statues. In 368

[illegible]

οὔτε θυσιῶν· πάντας γὰρ αὐτῇ παντοῖοι θύειν· οὔτε ἄλλῃ τινὶ ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ δεήσει ῥᾴδιος ὑπακοῦσαι ἂν· ἀλλ' εἰ οὗ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖ[1] καὶ ὁ πάντων τιμιώτατον νενόμικε, τοῦτο προσθείη τις αὐτῇ καὶ μαρτυρήσειεν ὅς ἐστι κάλλιστη,
22 ταχ' ἂν ἀγαπήσαι αὐτήν· ἰκαὶν δὲ καὶ προκρίνασθαι κατὰ τοῦτο τίνος ἂν ποτε ἀξιώσειεν ἢ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων καὶ μεγίστων, Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἥρας, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, εἰ φαίνοιτο ἐκεῖναι μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ παρεχόμεναι δῶρα ἕνεκα τῆς νίκης· οὕτω δὴ διελθών τε καὶ ἐξεργασάμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν καὶ ἐπιτοιαν, οἷον ψυχῆς ἐν ὑπνῳ φαντάσμασι καὶ δόξαις[2] ἐπακολουθούσης καὶ μακρόν τι καὶ συντεταγμένον ὑφαινούσης ὄναρ, κρίνει τε ὑπὸ Διὸς γίγνεται τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας,[3] αὐτάς τε ὑπερεῖδε καὶ τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν, τὴν δὲ προεκρίνεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ τε καὶ δώρῳ τῷ λαβεῖν τὸν γάμον ἐκείνης τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερ ἧς ἐνεθυμήθη τε καὶ εὔξατο.

23 Εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο βουκόλος καὶ ἰδιώτης ἔτυχεν ὤν, οὐδὲν ἂν πρᾶγμα ἀπήντησεν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου ὀνείρατος· νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ τύραννος καὶ δυνάστης ἦν καὶ πλούτῳ τε ἰσχύων καὶ ἀρχῇ[4] πόλεως τῆς τότε μεγίστης καὶ τῇ τῶν γονέων πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἤδη ἔργῳ ἐξειργάσατο ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀληθῶς γεγονόσι, ναῦς τε ναυπηγησάμενος καὶ ἑταίρους συναγαγών

[1] ἐνθυμεῖ Arnim: ἐνθυμεῖ.
[2] φαντάσμασι καὶ δόξαις Reiske: φαντάσμασι καὶ δόξης.
[3] ἄλλας added by Capps.
[4] ἀρχῇ Emperius: ἀρχῆς M, ἄρχων UB.

[1] i.e., if unaccompanied by a gift of some sort.

nor anything either, since all men everywhere offered her sacrifice; nor would she ever heed anything else, nor night nor day, more pertinent. But if, he thought, one were to present her with the thing which she desired most of all, what she had longed upon as the most valuable thing in the world, and should bear witness for her that she was the most beautiful goddess, perhaps she would consent. Then to win the victory and to be preferred in this contest of beauty over what divinity, he asked himself, would she think she could afford to prevail except over the foremost and greatest of them, Athena and Hera? And his mind, he all the more as if these two should pitch an appearance offering great and wonderful gifts for the sake of winning. So, after so reasoning the matter in this way and entertaining his mind, imagining and conceiving like a soul which in its sleep fashions out its phantasies and imaginings and spins out some long and coherent dream, he is approached by Zeus, he fancies, appears over the goddesses; and as to the other goddesses, he disregarded both their persons and their gifts, and chose he dared in return for the bribe and gift of winning that woman as wife who had been the object of his thirst and for whom he had prayed.

If then he had been nothing more than a herdsman and a commoner in rank, no trouble would have come to him from that ambiguous dream. But as it was since he was of royal blood and a mighty prince and of great influence owing to his wealth and the dominion over the greatest city of those days, and in affection which his parents bore for him, he for his part regarded the rest of his dream as if the first part had actually happened, and after building

καὶ πλεύσας ἐπί τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σπάρτην κατ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφικόμενος τὴν Μενελάου καὶ Ἑλένης καὶ ξενίων τυχὼν, ἀπιστίσας καταλιπεῖν αὐτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦκεν ἄγων εἰς Τροίαν πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν πραγμάτων καὶ συμφορῶν ἀρχήν.

24 Οὕτως αἱ μὲν ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀδυνάτου ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμίαι τε[1] καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι ὑπνήμιοι[2] τε καὶ ἀσαφεῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν γίγνεται χαλεπὸν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ τῷ ὄντι ὀνείρατα ἀναστάντων εὐθὺς οἴχεται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, ὡς φασι, τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπομένει, παρωλήσιοι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχει[3] ἐπιθυμήματα τε καὶ ἐλπίσματα, τὰ[4] δὲ τῶν μοναρχῶν ἢ πλουσίων ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἔχόντων δύναμιν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀφικνεῖται πολλάκις

25 χαλεπὸν τε καὶ φθορὸν καὶ ἔστιν ὅμοιον, ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπνήμιοις γενήμασιν· φασὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς γίγνεσθαι οὗτος ἄνευ σινουσίας τε καὶ μίξεως ἄρρενος, ἃ καλοῦσιν ὑπνήμια ὑπ' ἀνέμων προσπεσόντι γίγνεσθαι· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἠγησάμενος οὐδὲ ἀπίθανον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φανῆναι ἵππων ὑπνήμιον γένος, τὸν Βορρᾶν ἔφη ἐρασθέντα Τρωικῶν τινων ἵππων ἐμπλῆσαι τε αὐτὰς γονῆς καὶ γένος ἵππων ἐξ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι· ὁμοίως φαίη[5] πολλάκις ἐκ τινος ἐνθυμήματος φαυλοῦς καὶ ἀδυνάτου ἀποβῆναι πρᾶγμα ἀληθές.[6]

[1] ἐπιθυμίαι τε Bongarsius: ἐπιθυμίαι τε UM, ἐπιθυμίαι τε B.
[2] ὑπνήμια Hirzel: ὑπνήμια.
[3] ἔχει Hercher: ἔχειν.
[4] τὰ δὲ τῶν: τοῖς
[5] φαίη φασί, or ἐφασαν added by Cobet.

[illegible] and [illegible] a [illegible] he [illegible] for [illegible] and Sparta, entered the house of Menelaus and Helen, which he was hospitably received, received her [illegible] her husband and Helen, and then returned to his home [illegible] the beginning of many [illegible] treasures.

[illegible] of a [illegible] are [illegible] and meditation, and no difficulty arises from them, but [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

21 Εἴρηται δέ μοι πάντα ταῦτα ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκτροπῆς, ὅτι δεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθίζεσθαι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι πανταχοῦ τε καὶ ἐν ἅπαντι θορύβῳ καὶ ἐν ἁπάσῃ ἡσυχίᾳ εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἡσυχίας οὐδὲν μεῖζον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ταῖς ἀνοήτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ μὴ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα διανοεῖσθαί τε καὶ ἁμαρτάνειν.

All that I have said follows from that initial digressive remark that the mind should accustom itself to do and think what is essential to it everywhere, even in a perfect din as well as in perfect quiet. Otherwise seclusion and quiet offer no advantage and no greater safeguard, for men who are fools, to keep them from conceiving and committing many strange and wicked deeds.

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philosophy prior to this

21. ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΛΛΟΥΣ

Δ. Ὡς ὑψηλὸς ὁ νεανίσκος καὶ ὡραῖος· ἔτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος, οἷον ἐγὼ οὐχ ἑώρακα τῶν νῦν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνακειμένων τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν· αἱ δὲ τῶν ὕστερον εἰκόνες ἀεὶ χείρους καὶ ἀγαπωστέρων φαίνονται, τὸ μέν τι ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιαῦτοί εἰσιν.

Ἢ δεινὸν λέγεις, εἰ ὥσπερ φυτόν τι ἢ ζῷον ἐκλελοιπασι τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ καλοί, οἷον δή φασι τοὺς λέοντας παθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ γένος· πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις· εἰ οὕτως εἴχεται δὴ κάλλος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.

2 Δ. Τό γε ἀνδρεῖον, ὦ βέλτιστε· τὸ μέντοι γυναικεῖον ἴσως πλεονάζει· ἀνὴρ δὲ καλὸς καὶ σπάνιον μέν[1] γίγνεται νῦν, καὶ γενόμενος[2] τοὺς πλείστους λανθάνει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ καλοὶ ἵπποι τοὺς ὁρεωκόμους· εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ ἄφωνος[3]

[1] After μέν Emperius added οἱ.
[2] γενόμενος Emperius: γενόμενος B, γενόμενος UM.
[3] ἄφωνος Reiske: ἄφωνος.

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[1] For this meaning of ἀρχαῖος see Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* 13. 3, where it is speaking of the public buildings which Pericles had erected: "Each of them, in its beauty was even then and at once *antique*, but in the freshness of its vigour, it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought."

THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

Dio. How majestic the youth is and handsome; and, what is more, his appearance is ancient or classic[1] in type, such as I have not seen in our modern statues, but only in those set up at Olympia, the very old ones. The images of the subsequent periods even show a steady decline and clearly represent less noble features, to some extent owing to the sculptors, but chiefly because the persons portrayed are themselves like their statues.

Interlocutor. It is surely a sad state of affairs, according to what you say, if the beautiful have died out in the course of time just like some plant or animal; the fate which they do say has overtaken the lions in Europe; for the race of lions is now extinct there, though formerly they were to be found in Macedonia and in other places as well—it is unfortunate, I repeat, if beauty has really disappeared from mankind in this way.

Dio. Masculine beauty at least has, my good sir; feminine beauty, however, is perhaps increasing. But a handsome man is not only getting to be a rare sight nowadays; but when there is one, the majority fail to notice his beauty, much more than muleteers fail to observe beautiful horses. And if people

(Perrin in L.C.L.)—κάλλος μὲν γὰρ ἀκμαῖον οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν ἀρχαίων. ἀκμὴ δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ὑστεραίων ἐστὶ καὶ νεωτερικόν.

τῶν τοιούτων, μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ γεγομεῖοι ταχὺ λήγειν καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνοι ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐπαυξῆ αὔξεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὑπὸ τῶν τιμώντων αὐτὸ καὶ σεβομένων ἀμελουμένον δὲ καὶ οὐδένος εἰς αὐτὸ βλέποντος ἢ πονηρῶν βλεπόντων ἀβίωνται, ὥσπερ τὰ κάτοπτρα.

Ἆρ' οὖν, ὅπερ Ἀθηναῖοι πολλάκις, καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ ἀναρχίαν[1] ἀναγκάζειν τὸν παρόντα καιρόν,

2 ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος καλοῦ;

Δ. Ναί μα Δία, ὡς Πέρσαι γε ἐνόμιζον. Ἑλλήνων δὲ οὐδεὶς πλὴν εἷς τις[2] ἐκ τῶν τριακοντα ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα Κρεῖτιαν τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα, ὅτι κάλλιστον ἦφη εἶδος ἐν τοῖς ἄρρεσι τὸ θῆλυ, ἐν δ' αὖ ταῖς θήλειαις τοὐναντίον, οὐκοῦν δικαίως Ἀθηναῖοι νομοθέτην αὐτὸν εἵλοντο ἐπί γε τῷ μεταγράψαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς νόμους, ὃς οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἔλιπεν.

Εἶεν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πῶς ἐνόμιζον;

4 Δ. Οὐ γὰρ φανερόν, ὅτι εὐνούχους ἐποίουν τοὺς καλούς, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὡς καλλίστοις ὦσιν, τοιοῦτον διαφέρειν ᾤοντο πρὸς κάλλος τὸ θῆλυ· σχεδὸν δὲ

[1] Casaubon added κάλλους before ἀναρχίαν unnecessarily.
[2] ναφ ἑ εἰς Capps: ἑ εἰς Arnim: ἑ εἰς.

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[1] The Athenians elected annually nine magistrates called archons. If in any year they did not have an archon, that year was called ἀναρχία, i.e., a period without an archon. Such was the year of the Thirty Tyrants. Here the word is used to mean a period without a handsome man, as Dio contends it was. For the meaning, ἀναρχία see Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2. 3. 1 and Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 13. 1.

[2] Critias, who had fallen with Socrates, was the most prominent of the Thirty Tyrants who, put in power

do by any chance take an interest in handsome men, it is in a wanton way and for no good purpose. The result is, in my opinion, that even the handsome men that do appear speedily dry up and disappear. For it is not only virtue that is increased by commendation, but so is beauty likewise by those who honour and revere it. But when it is disregarded and esteemed by no one, or when wicked men esteem it, it fades away, like reflection in a mirror.

Ist. Should we, then, adopt the frequent practice of the Athenians and in a similar way record the present time as being an interregnum[1] because there is no beautiful man?

Dio. Yes indeed we might, at least as the Persians regarded beauty, but no one of the Greeks so regarded it, except one of the Thirty. Or do you not know the story about that Critias[2] who was a member of the Thirty? He said that the most beautiful figure among males was the effeminate, but among the females, on the other hand, the opposite. Therefore the Athenians were justified in choosing him as lawgiver that he might alter the old laws[1] for in fact he left not one of them unchanged.

Ist. Very well. But how did the Persians regard beauty?

Dio. Why, does it need any explanation, seeing that they made eunuchs of the beautiful males in order that they might have them as beautiful as possible? So greatly superior in beauty did they think the female to be. And practically as the

through the influence of the Spartans, ruled Athens in 404 B.C.

[2] "The Thirty were appointed to draw up a new code of laws on the basis of the constitution of the fathers."

καὶ πάντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἧπερ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα, διὰ τὸ μόνον τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐνοεῖν· ὡς οὖν λέγεται Δαίδαλος ποιῆσαι τον ταῦρον ἐξαπατῶν, περιτεῖναι τῷ ξύλῳ δέρμα βοός, κἀκεῖνοι γυναικος εἶδος περιτιθεασι τοῖς ἄρρεσιν, ἄλλως δε οὐκ ἐπίστανται
8 ἐρᾶν. ἴσως δε καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αἰτία τοῖς Πέρσαις, τὸ μέχρι πολλοῦ τρέφεσθαι ὑπό τε γυναικῶν καὶ εὐνούχων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, παῖδας δὲ μετὰ παίδων καὶ μειράκια μετὰ μειρακίων μὴ πάνυ συνεῖναι μηδὲ γυμνοῦσθαι ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ γυμνασίοις· ὅθεν ἐγω οἶμαι ξυμβῆναι αὐτοὺς ταῖς μητράσι μιγνυσθαι· ὥσπερ οἱ πῶλοι, ἐπειδαν ἀδρότεροι ὄντες ἀκολουθῶσιν ἔτι ταῖς μητράσιν,
9 ἐπιβαίνειν ζητοῦσιν· τὸ μέντοι τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσι τὴν ἰσχύν· κάλλιον μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολὺ ἵππος ὄνου, οἱ δε γε ὄνοι οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἵππων διὰ τὴν φυσιν, εἰ μὴ ὃς ἂν ᾖ τεθραμμένος ἵππου γάλακτι· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἵππος πωλιοθεις ὑπο ὄνου τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει.

Ἐν δε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία[1] παράνομόν τί ἐστι. Νέρωνα γοῦν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ἐφ'

[1] van Herwerden suggested that Dio wrote ἡ ἀφρόδιτον συνουσία, 'intercourse with males,' which was toned down under Christian influence to ἡ ἐξουσία.

[1] Daedalus, a mythical personage, whose name means 'cunning craftsman'—according to one version of the old Cretan myth about King Minos and his wife Pasiphaë that can be traced back as far as a lost play of Euripides called *The Cretan Woman*—made a wooden cow to enable her to satisfy her passion for the bull sent by Poseidon. By doing this he angered Minos, who shut him up in a prison, from which he escaped by the use of wings. For a reference to this cow see Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* II. 2.

barbarians treated them in the same way just as they did the animals because the only thing they thought of was the use of the flesh. Thus just as Theseus is said to have acted when he deceived the bull by stretching a cow's hide over a framework of wood, so they tried to put a female appearance on the males, being incapable of having them in any other way. But perhaps in the case of the Persians the way the boys are reared is the cause, I mean that for a long time boys are brought up by women and the other eunuchs, and that young boys do not associate much with other young boys nor the stripplings with others of their own age, and that they do not go naked in the wrestling schools and gymnasia.[1] This is the reason why in my opinion cases have occurred where they had intercourse with their mothers, just as men, when they see fierce their dams although fierce were prevented by nature from covering them. Moreover the inferiority of their nature is shown in the following case also. A horse is certainly far more beautiful than an ass but, yet the asses, because they are of a different breed feel no passion for mares, except where they have been raised on mares's milk, and similarly a horse that has been suckled by an ass is affected in the same way.[2]

In human beings unmitigated power also is a lawless sort of thing.[3] Take Nero for instance: we all

[1] Young boys at Athens did all of these things.

[2] Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* p. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐξέτεμε τὸν ἐρωμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μετωνόμασε γυναικεῖον, τῆς αὐτοῦ[1] ἐρωμένης καὶ γυναικός, ἧς ἐκεῖνος ἐπιθυμήσας ἔγημεν, ἀναφανδὸν εἴρξας τὴν προσθεν, ἐφ' ᾗ τὴν βασιλειαν εἴληφει.

7 Καὶ τί ἦν τὸ ὄνομα τῇ γυναικί, ὃ τῷ εὐνούχῳ ἔθετο.

Δ. Τί δὲ σοὶ τοῦτο, πάντως γὰρ οὐ Ῥοδογούνη ἐλέγετο· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος γε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας διεκέκριτο, καὶ παιδικαὶ ἠκολουθουν, ὁποτε βαδίζοι, καὶ ἀμπείχετο ἐσθῆτα γυναικειαν, καὶ τά γε ἄλλα οὕτως ἠναγκάζετο ποιεῖν· τέλος δὲ προυτίθησαν μεγάλαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ χρήματα ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, ὅστις αὐτὸν γυναῖκα ποιησειεν.

Ἦ οὖν καὶ ὑπεσχοντο,

8 Δ. Τί δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἐκεῖνα ὑποσχέσθαι τοσαῦτα διδόντες, ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα τὴν δυναμιν τοῦ διδοντος ὅση ἐστιν, ὅπου γε καὶ ὁπόταν βασιλέα ἀποδεῖξαι δεῃ, τὸν πλουσιώτατον αἱροῦνται καὶ παρ' οὗ ἂν ἐλπισωσιν ὡς πλεῖστον ἀργυριον λήψεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐδεν φροντίζουσιν ὁποῖος ἂν ᾖ, κἂν μελλῃ πάντας διατεμεῖν παραλαβων τὴν ἀρχήν,

[1] αὐτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ

[1] The youth, whose name was Sporus, possessed a striking resemblance to Nero's second wife, Poppaea Sabina. After her death Nero had his minister gave him the name Sabina, and in A.D. 67 publicly went through the ceremony of marriage with him in Greece. This Sporus was present at Nero's suicide. Afterwards he was intimate with Otho, whose wife Poppaea Sabina was before she married Nero. Sporus committed suicide under Vitellius to avoid appearing on the stage under degrading circumstances. See Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, § 28.

know how in our own time that he not only castrated the youth whom he loved, but also changed his name for a woman's: that of the girl whom he loved and his subsequent wife,[1] for whom he conceived a passion and wedded after openly incarcerating his former wife[2] to whom he was already married when he became Emperor.

Ist. And what was the woman's name which he gave to the eunuch?

Dio. What concern of yours is that? At any rate, she was not called Rhodogune.[2] But that youth of Nero's actually wore his hair parted, young women attended him whenever he went for a walk, he wore women's clothes, and was forced to do everything else a woman does in the same way. And, to cap the climax, great honours and boundless sums of money were actually offered to anyone who should make him his wife.

Ist. Well, then, did they actually promise to do so?

Dio. Why should they not have promised that man who offered so much? Or do you not know how great the might of the giver is? For example, wherever and whenever it is necessary to appoint an Emperor, they choose the weakliest man, any one from whom they hope to get the most money; but as to the other qualifications, they do not care what sort of man he is, even if he sooner or later is to gold them all, after taking over the government—

[1] She was Octavia, daughter of the emperor Claudius and Messalina.

[2] Rhodogune was the daughter of Arsaces VI, also called Mithridates I, who greatly extended the Parthian empire. After defeating and capturing Demetrius Nicator in 138 B.C. he gave Demetrius this daughter in marriage.

τούτε τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς εἰληφότας τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἔτι παντων αὐτους
9 καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχοντων ἀφαιρήσεσθαι. τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα περιῆν ὁ Νέρων, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν αὐτῷ περὶ οὐδενὸς ὅ τι εἴποι οὐδ' ἀδύνατον ἔφη εἶναι ὃ κελεύσειεν, ὥστε καὶ εἰ πέτεσθαι κελεύοι τινά, καὶ τοῦτο ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ, καὶ συχνὸν χρόνον ἐτρέφετο ἔνδον παρ' αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὡς πτησόμενος· μόνος γὰρ δὴ οὐδένα τρόπον ἐφεῶτο χρημάτων, οὔτε διδοὺς οὔτε λαμβάνων. διὰ μόνην μέντοι ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν καὶ ἀπέθανε τὴν εἰς τὸν εὐνοῦχον. ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτοῦ τὰ βουλεύματα τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως ἀπεστήσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠναγκάσαν ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτόν· οὐδέπω γὰρ καὶ νῦν
10 τοῦτό γε δῆλον ἐστιν· ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἄλλων ἕνεκεν οὐδὲν ἐκωλυεν αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ὃν [1] γε καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν· οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ οἴονται, καίπερ [2] τρόπον τινὰ οὐχ ἅπαξ αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μετὰ τῶν ὀφθαρμένων οἰηθέντων αὐτὸν ζῆν.

Σὺ μὲν ἀεὶ λόγους ἀνευρισκεις, ὥστε διαπτύειν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ νῦν ἐξ οὐδενος, ὡς εἰπεῖν,

[1] ἂν added by Casaubon. [2] καίπερ Emperius: καί.

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[1] Cf. Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 12. 2.

[2] The allusion is to the false Nero. The first of these appeared in A.D. 69. He was a slave from Pontus or else a freedman from Italy. See Tacitus, *Histories* 2. 8 and 9, Cassius Dio 64. 9. Then Zonaras (*Chronicles* 11. 18) mentions a pretender Terentius Maximus of Asia, who appeared in the reign of Titus (A.D. 79-81), and was supported by the Parthians. Probably there is a reference to the same pretender in Tacitus,

everybody including the men who have received the money and, besides intends to deprive them of every blessed thing they have. This indeed, was especially true of Nero and no one ever indeed hung on anything whatever he said or affirmed that anything he commanded was impossible to perform, so that even if he ordered anyone to fly[1] the man promised that too and for a considerable time he would be maintained in the imperial household in the belief that he would fly. For Nero was the only man who was utterly regardless of money both in giving and in taking. It was not even on account of this war to excess of his, however, that he lost his life. I mean the way he treated the eunuch. For the latter in anger discussed the Emperor's designs to his retinue and so they revolted from him and compelled him to make away with himself as best he could. Indeed the truth about this has not come out even yet, for so far as the rest of his subjects were concerned, there was nothing to prevent his continuing to be Emperor for a time seeing that even now everybody wishes he were still alive. And the great majority do believe that he is, though in a certain sense he has died not once but often along with those who had been firmly convinced that he was still alive.[2]

Jur. You are everlastingly hunting up reasons for ridiculing what your fellow men do and think, and now with scarcely a shadow of a pretext you

[1] Suetonius at the end of his *Life of Nero* speaks of a man who came forth [illegible] to Nero's death, that is, in A.D. [illegible] as Nero and supported by the Parthians. Whether he is the same man as the [illegible] is not clear. It seems from Tacitus, op. cit. 8 we conclude that there were several false Neros.

ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἦλθες· ὃ δὲ ἐβουλόμην ἐρέσθαι, οὐκ εἴασας.

11 Δ. Ἴσως γάρ μου καταφρονεῖς καὶ ἡγῇ με λήρειν, ὅτι οὐ περὶ Κύρου καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου λέγω, ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἀλλὰ Νέρωνος καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων, νεωτέρων τε καὶ ἀδοξοτέρων ἢ μνημονεύω· τούτου δὲ αἴτιον τὸ μὴ πάνυ φιλεῖν τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς μηδὲ ζηλοῦν· ἐπεὶ οἶδα ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀρχαίου τινὸς ἕδει[1] πράγματος καὶ οὐδὲ πάνυ πιστοῦ· οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔμπροσθεν οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο τοὺς τότε ὄντας ὀνομάζειν καὶ λέγοντες καὶ γράφοντες· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἐκείνους ἐξ
12 ἁπάντων ὀνομάζειν ζητοῦσιν. ἡτινι δὲ τῇ σοφίᾳ πράττουσιν αὐτό, ἐγώ σοι ἐρῶ—καὶ[2] μὴ πάντα φλυαρεῖν με φῆς· ἀλλ' ἴσως πολλοῦ[3] δέω—[4] πάντως γάρ τινι[5] τῶν βιβλιοπωλῶν προσέσχηκας.

Διὰ τί δὴ τοῦτό με ἐρωτᾷς;

Δ. Ὅτι εἰδότες τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν βιβλίων σπουδαζόμενα, ὡς ἄμεινον γεγραμμένα καὶ ἐν κρείττοσι βιβλίοις,[6] οἱ δὲ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν νῦν κατα-θέντες εἰς σῖτον, ὅπως τὸ γε[7] χρῶμα ὅμοια γένηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς, καὶ προσδιαφθείροντες[8] ἀποδίδοντα ὡς παλαιά· ἀλλὰ τί ἦν ὃ πάλαι δὴ ἐρέσθαι σπεύδεις;

13 Περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ νεανίσκου, ὅστις τί ἐστι καὶ

[1] For ἕδει Reiske proposed δεῖ.
[2] For καὶ Jacobs con. ὡς. Reiske ἴσα.
[3] πολλοῦ Arnim: ἀμοῦ M, ὅσου P.
[4] δέω Arnim: δέῃ.
[5] τινι Cobet: τιν.
[6] βιβλίοις Casaubon: βιβλίοις.
[7] γε Casaubon: τε.
[8] προσδιαφθείροντες Reiske: προσδιαφθείροντες.

have got round to the topic. Consequently you have given me no chance to ask a question I wanted to ask.[1]

Dio. Oh yes, I suppose you look down on me and think that I am [illegible] because I am not talking about Cyrus and Xenophon as the wise men [illegible] even at this late date, but about Nero and subjects of that kind, more recent and impressive, which I can remember. The reason for this is that I do not [illegible] for the writers of tragedy nor try to emulate them, for I know that it is a disgrace to mention people of the present day in a tragedy, but that it is some ancient event which I should have [illegible] and one not very credible either. Yet men of former times certainly were not ashamed to name people of their own day whether in speaking or in writing, but those of the present day strive to name the ancients on any pretext. I shall tell you what wisdom they show in doing this—and don't you dare everything I say is nonsense, perhaps however, it is anything but nonsense. For surely you have noticed what some of our booksellers do?

Ist. Just what is your reason for asking me this?

Dio. Because they, knowing that old books are in demand since better writers and on better paper, bury the worst specimens of our day in grain in order that they may take on the same colour as the old ones, and after ruining the books in the bargain they sell them as old. But what was it that you have been wanting all this while to ask me?

Ist. It is about this young man here. Who is

[1] He asks it in § 13.

οὕτινος [1] ὡς ἐγὼ οὐδένα πώποτε οὕτως [2] ἐξεπλάγην· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡλικία παῖδα αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυσιν ἑκκαίδεκα ἴσως ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν· τὸ δὲ μέγεθος οὐδενὸς ἧττον τῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἡ δὲ αἰδὼς τοσαύτη ὥστε καὶ τὸν προσιόντα αἰδεῖσθαι εὐθὺς ποιεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ὁρῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβλέψειεν ἀπὸ τύχης· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἀναιδὴς οὐδὲ λίθινός ἐστιν ὅστις ὑπομενεῖ καὶ ἀντιστήσεται ὁρῶν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀνάγκη τραπῆναι καὶ μεταβαλέσθαι τὼ ὀφθαλμώ. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγὼ τὸ πάθος πάνυ θαυμάζω, ὅτι τὸ κάλλος, ἐὰν μετὰ αἰδοῦς ᾖ, καὶ τοὺς ἀναιδεῖς τρέπει τε καὶ ἀναγκάζει αἰδεῖσθαι.

Δ. Ἴσως γὰρ οὐ προσενόησας τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι γιγνόμενον.

Τί δή;

Δ. Ὅτι τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπιλάμψαντος εἰς τὸ κατ' εὐθὺ μάλιστα ἀντιλάμπει. καὶ ἴσως ἑώρακας ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις τὸ κινούμενον καὶ περιτρέχον φῶς, οὐκ ὂν ἀληθινόν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν αὐγῆς τοῦ ἡλίου γεγονὸς πρὸς τὸ μάλιστα κατ' εὐθύ. τοιοῦτον οὖν τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς αἰδοῦς ἀντιλαμπεί τε καὶ ποιεῖ δοκεῖν αἰδεῖσθαι τοὺς ὁρῶντας [3] ἔπειτ' εὐθὺς ἀπελθόντες ἀναιδεῖς εἰσιν.

Ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ ὁ παιδοτρίβης ἐδόκει καὶ αὐτὸς οἷον ἐνθουσιῶν τε καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένος.

[1] After οὕτινος the MSS. have υἱός, which von Arnim bracketed.
[2] οὕτως added by Casaubon.
[3] ὁρῶντας Casaubon: ἐρώντας.

he and to whom does he belong? I declare that I have never been so struck with admiration for anyone. For while his appearance shows him to be a boy of sixteen perhaps or seventeen years, he is as tall as any man, and then his modesty is such that he makes anyone approaching feel abashed at once. And it is impossible to gaze longer at his face unless he himself should chance to look away. For no one is so shameless or made of stone as to hold his ground and stand looking at him face to face, but one must at once turn away and drop one's eyes. And this effect surprises me very much, that beauty when combined with modesty makes even brazen-faced men turn away and forces them to feel abashed.

Dio. Yes, for perhaps you have not noticed what occurs in the water.

Isi. What is that?

Dio. That when the sun is shining straight down, the reflection is strongest. And perhaps you have seen on a calm morning and dancing light not a real light, but the reflection of the sun's light in the water—in contrast to the most direct reflection. Now there is a somewhat similar reflection from true modesty which makes the beholders appear to be abashed. Then as soon as they go away, they are once more unashamed.[1]

Isi. Just as I thought that even the gymnastic trainer, hardened as he is, seemed in the youth's presence to be, as it were, dumbfounded as well as entranced.

[1] Xenophon (Symposium I. 8-10) also compares beauty to light, praises it when combined with modesty, and notes its dazzling effect on the beholder. Cf. also what Dio says in *Discourse* 12. 61.

15 Δ Οὐκοῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσεις, ἐπειδὰν πύθῃ ὅτι οὗτος τοιοῦτος ὢν οὐδενός [1] ἐστιν

Πῶς λέγεις μηδενὸς εἶναι αὐτόν;

Δ Οὕτως ὅπως σὺ ἐπύθου ὅτου ἐστύν. οἶμαι γὰρ ἐρωτᾶν σε ὅτου υἱός ἐστιν.

Ἀλλ' ἦ τῶν Σπαρτῶν ἐστιν εἷς,

Δ Πρέποι μὲν ἂν τῷ μεγέθει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ, εἴ γε ἐπιεικεῖς ἦσαν καὶ φιλάνθρωποι τὰς φύσεις ὥσπερ ὧδε, ἀλλὰ μὴ παντελῶς σκληροὶ καὶ ἄγριοι, τῆς γῆς τὰ τέκνα ἐπεί τοι γε [2] σῶμα οὐ φαύλως εἰκάζεις Βοιωτίῳ μᾶλλον εἰκάζων αὐτὸ ἢ Λακωνικῷ τε καὶ Ἀττικῷ ὅτι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνικὸν ἄκρως ἐστύν, οὐ δεῖ δήπου ἀγνοῆσαι.

16 Τί γάρ, εἴη τις ἂν τοῦ γένους διαφορὰ πρός γε τὸ κάλλος; ἢ οὐδένα οἴει γίγνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις καλόν, [3]

Δ Ἀλλ' οὐκ οἴει τὸ μέν τι βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι, ὥσπερ εἶδος, καὶ κάλλος, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥσπερ καὶ φωνὴν καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἀλλ' ὁμοίως σοι δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καλὸς Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἕκτωρ,

Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὡς περὶ ἀνδρείου τοῦ Ἕκτορος ὁ ποιητὴς διέξεισιν,

Δ Ὅπου γε τὰς ναῦς ἐμπίμπρησιν· οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, περὶ κάλλους ἔπρεπεν αὐτόθι [4] μεμνῆσθαι

[1] After οὐδενός the MSS. have νῦν, which Emperius bracketed.

[2] τό γε Pflugk γε τό.

[3] The words ἢ οὐδένα καλόν moved here by Casaubon from their position after εἶδος καὶ κάλλος two lines (*infra*) in the MSS.

[4] αὐτόθι Cappa: αὐτοῦ δὴ or αὐτοῦ δή.

Dio. Therefore you will be all the more surprised to learn that this handsome youth belongs to no one.

Int. What do you mean by his belonging to no one?

Dio. Just what you meant by asking to whom he belongs. For I suppose you were asking whose son he is.

Int. Well, is he one of the Sown Men?[1]

Dio. That would be in keeping with his stature and manliness, if they had been gentle and kindly in disposition, just as this youth is, and not altogether rough and wild, real children of the earth; for as to his physique, you are not far wrong in likening him to a Boeotian rather than to a Spartan or an Athenian. For that he is utterly Greek, I presume is quite patent.

Int. Why, I should like to know? Can there be any racial distinction as regards beauty? Or do you think that no handsome man is to be found among foreigners?

Dio. Well, do you not think that there is a foreign type of beauty, as there is of general appearance, and an Hellenic type, just as their language and dress differ; or do you think that Achilles and Hector were handsome in just the same way?

Int. Why, does not the poet discourse about Hector as a brave man only?

Dio. Yes, where he is setting fire to the ships. For it would not, I think, have been fitting to mention beauty at that point. But after he had

[1] The *Σπαρτοί*, or 'Sown Men,' sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, the builder of the citadel of Thebes. The five who survived became, according to tradition, the ancestors of the Thebans, that is, Boeotians.

τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ γυμνωθέντος ἐκπλαγῆναι φησιν αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἰδόντας, οὕτω πως λέγων·

οἳ καὶ θηήσαντο φυὴν καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὸν
Ἕκτορος

17 οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς πρότερον, οἶμαι, σχολὴ θηήσασθαι αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδὸν σαφεστέρον ἐνδείξειεν καὶ[1] ὡς οὐ περὶ ἑλίου τινὸς τῶν καλλίστων· τήν τε γὰρ κεφαλὴν χαριεσσαν αὐτοῦ φησιν εἶναι καὶ τὴν κόμην πανυ μελαιναν καὶ τὸ σωμα οὐ σκληρον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως εἴδους οὐδὲν λέγει καθ' ἕκαστον ἀλλ'[2] ἢ τῆς κομης, ὅτι ξανθος ἦν, καὶ περὶ τῆς Εὐφορβου κομης καὶ Πατροκλου ὡς μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τελευτησαντων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σμικρον τι περὶ ἑκάστου καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν καλλίστων· πλὴν ὅτι γε οὐδεὶς ἂν[3] εἴποι τοιόσδε ὁμοίως ἂν εἶναι καλος, οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ Εὐφορβον ἢ Τρωίλον ἐοικεναι τι Μενελαῳ καὶ Πατροκλῳ καὶ Νιρεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρβαροις Σεσωστριν τον Αἰνύπτιον ἢ Μεμνονα τὸν Αἰθιοπα ἢ Νινυαν[4] ἢ Εὐρυπυλον ἢ Πέλοπα.

[1] καὶ added by Cobet. [2] ἀλλ' added by Reiske.
[3] οὐδεὶς ἂν Casaubon: οὐδὲ πάν.
[4] Νινύαν Reiske: Μινύαν.

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[1] Homer *Iliad* 22. 370 f. [2] πανυ, *Iliad* 22. 402.
[3] *Iliad* 22. 373: μελαινοτερον ἢ ὅτε περ κατεπεπτοκει.
[4] *Iliad* 17. 51: "that was like the hair of the Graces."
[5] Brave Trojan slain by Menelaus, who dedicated his shield in the temple of Hera near Mycenae. Pythagoras said he had been Euphorbus in a previous incarnation and to prove it identified this shield at sight and took it away.
[6] Troilus, son of Priam, or Apollo, and Hecuba, slain by Achilles.

been slain and stripped the Achaeans were simply amazed on beholding his beauty so the poet says in about the following words

> "Then gazed they upon the wonderful form and beauty of Hector."[1]

For I imagine that before this they had been too busily occupied to gaze upon him [illegible] And the poet goes on to describe him more vividly, one may almost say, and in greater detail than he describes any other of the most handsome men. For he says that his head was graceful, his hair quite [illegible] and his body not hard.[2] But about Achilles, [illegible] he goes so far as [illegible] to say that his hair was auburn, and he mentions the [illegible] of Eumaeus and of Patroclus as of men who had died in the very prime of life,[3] and about each of the other men and most beautiful women he has very little to say. However, nobody would aver that these men could have been handsome in the same way as that Alexander, or Euphorbus,[4] or Tydeus,[5] have any resemblance to Menoeceus and Patroclus and Sirens,[6] any more than among the barbarians Sesostris,[7] the Egyptian king, or Memnon,[8] the Ethiopian king, or Nuyas,[9] Kerxyeus or Pempe.

[1] Handsomest man among the Greeks after Achilles, but [illegible] Euphorbus of Troy.

[2] [illegible] to whom the Greeks attributed all great [illegible]

[3] [illegible] son of Atreus and Eos. Was king of the [illegible] Ethiopians, [illegible] king Antilochus. [illegible] beauty and that of Euryptolemus [illegible] *Odyssey* 11. 520–522.

[9] [illegible] the founder of the Assyrian [illegible] beauty, but concerning him we to that ancient author [illegible]

THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR

[illegible]

particular cases.

[illegible]

22. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ

Πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα εὕροι τις ἂν καὶ ξύμπαντα ἀτεχνῶς τὰ ἔργου τινὸς ἐχόμενα καὶ πράξεως κοινὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, καὶ ῥητόρων ὅσοι μὴ ἀγοραῖοι μηδὲ μισθαρνοι, πρὸς χρήματα ὁρῶντες μόνον καὶ τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς ἀμφιλογίας περὶ συμβολαίων ἢ τινων δανείων ἐπὶ τοκῳ [1] ἀλλὰ [2] δημοσίᾳ συμβουλεύειν καὶ νομοθετεῖν ἀξιούμενοι καθάπερ, οἶμαι, Περικλῆς καὶ Θουκυδίδης Ἀθήνησι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι πρότερον καὶ Κλεισθένης, καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἕως ἔτι ῥήτωρ καὶ δημαγωγὸς
2 ἠνείχετο καλούμενος Ἀριστείδην μὲν γὰρ καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος τοιοῦτος, φιλοσόφους [3] ἐν πολιτείᾳ θεῖέν ἢ ῥήτορας κατὰ τὴν γενναίαν τε καὶ ἀληθῆ ῥητορικήν· λέγω δὲ οἷον περί τε ἀγωγῆς τῶν νέων συμβουλεύοντας καὶ νομοθετοῦντας, ὥσπερ

[1] δανείων ἐπὶ τόκῳ added by Cobet, τοκόνων by Reiske.
[2] ἀλλὰ added by Arnim.
[3] φιλοσόφους Morel: φιλόσοφοι.

[1] Not the historian, but the leader of the aristocratic party in opposition to Pericles. He was ostracized in 444 B.C.

[2] The term ῥήτωρ means primarily 'public speaker' no matter what the subject of his address, but it was usually applied to those who addressed the people on political questions. Here Dio distinguishes between the greater and more philosophical statesmen, such as Solon, and the lesser statesmen and

THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR

Many things in general and absolutely everything involving any work or action will be found common to philosophers and orators; for those orators, that is, who do not carry on their business in the market place and work for hire with their eyes fixed on matters of money only and on private disputes regarding contracts or loans out at interest, but are able to advise and legislate for the state. That is, I think, what Pericles and Thucydides[1] must have done at Athens, and Themistocles still earlier, and Cleisthenes and Peisistratus, so long as he still let himself be called orator and 'popular leader'[1]—for Aristides, Lycurgus, Solon, Epaminondas and others of the same sort should be regarded as philosophers in politics or orators in the noble and real sense of the term. And I use the word 'philosopher' of men who, for example, deliberate and legislate about the training of the

[1] Pericles and Themistocles. [illegible] would [illegible] mean [illegible] who [illegible] in the [illegible] to [illegible] as advocate and [illegible]

[illegible] literally 'leader of the people' and at times has a [illegible] it has also [illegible] but [illegible] was used [illegible] to the capital or prosperity of the masses in order to further his own interests.

ἐν Λακεδαιμονίοις Λυκοῦργος καὶ περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας
ὁ λόγος καὶ περὶ χρημάτων κτήσεως ὅστις τε καὶ
ὁποῖος δεῖ πολιτεύειν, καὶ περὶ γάμου καὶ περὶ
παιδοποιίας καὶ περὶ τεκνοποιίας καὶ περὶ παιδείας
καὶ ἀγωγῆς καὶ περὶ λόγου καὶ ἀγωνίας ποτέρα χρὴ τοῦ χαμαιτυπεῖν οἴκοθεν πολὺ ἢ κατὰ νόμον
ὁ θεὸς πολιτεύεται Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐν χρόνῳ,
καὶ περὶ ἀποικίας τῶν πολεμίων[1] καὶ τείχους,
οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄλλης καὶ οὗτον Ἑλληνικῆς ἀκμῆς
ἐστὶν ἐν λόγοις τῶν ἀμφὶ τὰ μετὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα
πολέμου ἔτη τριακόσια μάλιστα καὶ τετρακόσια ἔστω
ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς κακίας καὶ τοῦ
λόγου τούτου, μόνον ἐπιστῆσαι χρὴ ὅ[2] ἐρωτᾶται
Λακεδαιμόνιος τί περὶ[3] λακωνικῆς, ἐξιστάμενος
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῆς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὸ δὲ ὅλον
κεφάλαιον, καὶ πολλάκις τὸ ὅλον πεφύκασι περὶ τοῦ
πόλεμος καὶ πολέμου, ὃ νῦν τῷ γένει γ' τοιούτον

Πῶς δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος περὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καλεῖται περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, οὗτος εἰ γεωμέτρης, εἰ πολιτικός, εἰ βασιλεύς[4] γ' ἀριστος ἢ δημοκρατίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς καταστάσεως πολιτείας ἐν οἷς ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο, ἵνα δοκεῖν εἰ πολεμικός

Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀρετὴ οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἐστιν περὶ τούτων ἀλλὰ πάντα καὶ πρὸς τινας καὶ τινὰς συμβάντος ἢ μὴ συμβάντος ἕκαστα τούτων

[1] ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων Emperius ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων
[2] ὅ τι ἐρωτᾶται Emperius ὅ τι ἐρωτᾶται
[3] περὶ added by Emperius
[4] βασιλεὺς Reiske βασιλεῖ

[1] In 371 B.C.

young just as Lycurgus did at Sparta, and about the association of women, about the acquisition of money how much one should make and in what manner—about marriage about the duties of citizenship, about courage about civic rights and the one of them about the setting up of households, and as to what kind one should live in a walled city or as the god advised the Spartans in an unwalled one, about training for war and the organization of not merely the heavy armed troops in general but also of the formation which Epaminondas is said to have invented in which he put the lovers along with their beloved in order that they might have a better chance of coming through safely and might be worthy of one another for courage or cowardice and history tells us that this Sacred Band as it was called conquered the Spartans in the battle of Leuctra though these were supported by all Greece But he must question of a , and one with which many have often had to deal concerns peace and war , and this now, as it so happens, is my theme

All problems of this sort are called by the philosophers questions of propriety for example, whether one should marry, whether one should go into public life whether a monarchy should be adopted, or a democracy or some other form of government, and in these subjects, in my opinion, is included this one too whether war should be entered into.

Indeed the philosophers not only considered these questions in their general aspect, but also Lycurgus when, with reference to whom, and after what occurrence or non-occurrence each separate action

πρακτέον διαφέρει δὲ τοσοῦτον, ὅτι οἱ γε ῥήτορες ἐπὶ τῶνδε ἢ τῶνδε σκοποῦσιν, οἷον εἰ συμφέρει πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Πελοποννησίους ἢ βοηθεῖν Κερκυραίοις πρὸς Κορινθίους ἢ Φιλίππῳ συμμαχῆσαι Θηβαίοις ἐπὶ Φωκέας ἢ
4 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαβῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν· ἐν γὰρ ταύταις ἁπάσαις ταῖς βουλαῖς οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐμπίπτει καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἰ δίκαιον τοῖς μὴ προαδικήσασι πολεμεῖν· εἰ συμβέβηκεν ἀδίκημα παρὰ τούτων οἷς διανοοῦνται πολεμεῖν, πηλίκον τι τοῦτο τὸ συμβέβηκος.

Οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ πόρρωθεν τὰ πράγματα δρῶσιν, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεταζόντες ὁποῖ' ἄττα ἐστιν· πολὺ γὰρ κρεῖττον τὸ βεβουλεῦσθαι περὶ ἁπάντων ἐκ πλείονος καὶ διεγνωκότας, ἐπειδὰν ἥκῃ τινὸς πράγματος καιρός, αὐτούς τε εἰδότας ἔχειν χρῆσθαι καὶ ἑτέροις παραινεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τρόπον τινὰ ἐξαίφνης ληφθέντας ταράττεσθαι καὶ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν·
5 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ῥήτορες, ὅταν δέῃ σκοπεῖν περί τινος, οὐδὲν εἰδότες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον οὐδὲ ἐσκεμμένοι πρότερον, ἅμα τε αὐτοὶ βουλεύονται τρόπον τινὰ καὶ συμβουλεύουσιν ἑτέροις· οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ περὶ τῶν πραξεῶν προοίδασι καὶ πάλαι βεβουλευ-

[1] τί added by Pflugk.

[2] Corcyra, the modern Corfu, was a colony of Corinth founded about 700 B.C. In 427 B.C. during the Peloponnesian War Corinth released some Corcyrean prisoners on the understanding that they were to win over Corcyra from Athens to the support of Corinth. They did secure the support of the oligarchic party there.

[3] Philip of Macedon helped the Thebans against the Phocians in the Phocian or Sacred War and conquered them in 346 B.C.

should be taken. But there is this important difference—that the orators consider definite cases, for example, whether it is of advantage for the Athenians to make war on the Peloponnesians, for the Corcyraeans to go to the help of the Corinthians,[1] for Philip to support the Thebans in the war against the Phocians,[1] or for Alexander to cross over into Asia. Then too in all these deliberations the following sort of question is apt to crop up: Is it right to go to war with those who have not provoked a war by some wrongful act? If a wrong has been done by those against whom you propose to wage war, how serious is this wrong which has been done?

But philosophers look at events from a distance and examine into what their character is in the abstract, for it is much better to have already deliberated about everything a long time in advance and since they have already reached a decision, to be able, when the moment for any action has come, with full knowledge either to handle the situation themselves or to give advice to the others,[1] and not to be caught off their guard, as it were, and so be in a state of confusion and obliged to resort to improvising measures concerning situations of which they have no knowledge. For whenever the orators or statesmen have to consider any question, since they know nothing more than everybody else and have not considered the matter before, in a sense they both deliberate themselves and give advice to the others at one and the same time. The philosophers, on the other hand, know in advance about the course to be adopted and have deliberated

[1] That is, to the men of action, the generals, or to the citizens.

μένοι τυγχάνουσιν ὥστε ἄν τις αὐτοὺς παρακαλῇ συμβούλους τῶν πολεων ἢ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἢ τῶν βασιλέων, κρεῖττον ἕξουσι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀποφαίνεσθαι οὐ τὸ ἐπιὸν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, πάλιν δὲ τἀναντία, δι' ὀργὴν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἢ χρήμασι πληγέντες, ὥσπερ ἐπι τρυτάνης, ἔφη τις, οἶμαι, τῶν ῥητόρων αὐτῶν, κατὰ τὸ λῆμμα ἀεὶ ῥέποντες λέγω δὲ οὐ ψέγων ῥητορικὴν οὐδὲ ῥήτορας τοὺς ἀγαθούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φαύλους καὶ τοὺς προυποιουμένους τὸ πρᾶγμα.

upon it long beforehand. Consequently, if they are called in to advise cities, nations, or kings, they are in a better and safer position to set forth, not just what occurs to them, nor one thing at one moment and the opposite at the next, influenced by anger, contentiousness, or bribery, acting just as the tongue of a balance does, as I believe some one of the orator-politicians themselves said, ever tipping according to what is received.[1] And I say this, not to criticize the art of oratory, or the good orators, but the poor ones and those who falsely claim that profession as their own.

[1] Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 298: "tipping toward what is received as the tongue of a balance does": ὥσπερ ἡ τράπεζα ῥέπουσα πρὸς τὸ λῆμμα. λῆμμα more than hints at a bribe.

THE COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL THAT THE WHITE MAN IS FORTUNATE AND HOPED

apparently

23 ΟΤΙ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ Ο ΣΟΦΟΣ

Δ Πότερον δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι ἄνθρωπος εὐδαίμων, εἰ δὲ μή, γεγονέναι ἢ ἔσεσθαι, ἢ ἀδύνατον ἡγῇ τὸ τοιοῦτον περὶ ἀνθρώπου, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἀθάνατον ἄνθρωπον λέγοι εἶναι; ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοις δόξαν Ὁμήρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις συχνοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν.

Καὶ ποῦ ἀποφαίνεται περὶ τούτου Ὅμηρος,

Δ Ὅπου πεποίηκε τὸν Δία λέγοντα αὐτόν, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν φησιν ὀϊζυρότερον εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἁπάντων τῶν ζῴων,

ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἕρπει.

οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τὴν ὀϊζὺν ἄντικρυς κακοδαιμονίαν τινὰ λέγειν;

Ἔμοιγε.

2 Δ Ἕτερος δὲ ποιητὴς οὐκ ἰδίᾳ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ πρὸς θέατρον ἀγωνιζόμενος εἰσηγεῖται

τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά,
τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον

χαίροντας καὶ συνηδομένους οἴεται δεῖν ἐκπέμπειν

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[1] Homer, *Iliad* 17 447.

[2] Euripides, *Cresphontes*, fragment 452 (Nauck). Herodotus (5. 4) says that the Trausi, a Thracian tribe, did lament when a child was born and rejoice when a man died.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE THAT THE WISE MAN IS FORTUNATE AND HAPPY

Dio. Do you believe man is happy, and if not, that he has been or will be — or do you hold that such a thing as this is impossible to predicate of man, just as if a person were to say that man is immortal? For it is, perhaps, possible that you hold the same view as Homer and a good many others of our poets.

Interlocutor. And where does Homer express his view on this question?

Dio. Where he has represented Zeus himself, and not some other one of the gods, as saying that none of all living creatures is more miserable than man,

Of all that breathe and move upon the earth.[1]

Do you not think that by misery he means expressly some great unhappiness?

Int. I do.

Dio. And another poet, not speaking of any particular man, but expressing a general sentiment to the audience in a contest of tragedies, proposes that we should

That man bewail who's born and all life's ills confronts,
But him who's dead and free from all his toils[2]

he thinks we should "with joy and gladness speed from out the house."

Ἔστι ταῦτα

Δ Οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς ποιήσειν, εἰ γὰρ ἅπαξ δεῖ[1] κλαίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, καὶ γενομένους προσήκει θρηνεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῖς κακῶν ἕνεκεν, καὶ τελευτήσαντας, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, καὶ ζῶντας,[2] ὅτι
3 εἰσὶν ἐν κακοῖς ὥστε ὥρα ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν μηδέποτε παυσαμένους ἀδυρομένους πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀηδόνων ἐκείνας μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἤρος λέγονται θρηνεῖν τὸν Ἴτυν τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους εἰκὸς ἦν θρηνεῖν καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος ποσῷ δὲ βέλτιον τοὺς γενομένους ἐν αὐθις ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' μὴ σπαργάνοις ἐκείλοῦντας καὶ λουσαντας[3] καὶ τιθηνουμένους τοσαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ὅπως ἄθλιοι ἔσονται ἐχθρῶν γὰρ, οὐ φίλων οὐδὲ κηδομένων τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ
4 νη Δια αὐτοὺς πρώτους ἀπαλλαττεν τοῦ βίου, κινδυνεύουσι γὰρ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον μόνοι φρόνιμοι γενέσθαι οἱ γενόμενοι ἐν Κολχοῖς ἐκ τῶν τοῦ δράκοντος ὀδόντων, οὓς ἔσπειρεν Ἰασων οὗτοι γὰρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἠθοῦντο γεγονοτες, εὐθυς ἀλλήλους ἀνῄρουν, ὥστε οὐδενὶ ἔλυπον, βοηθοῦντες

[1] δεῖ Gesl. Ald. [2] ζῶντας Casaubon : ποιοῦντας.
[3] λουσαντας Seldon λύσαντας

[1] Itys, son of Tereus and Procné, was killed by his mother and his flesh served to his father Tereus because the father had been unfaithful and married Procné's sister Philomela. On learning what flesh he was eating, Tereus pursued the women with an axe. Then Procné was turned into a nightingale, Philomela into a swallow and Tereus into a hoopoe.

[2] Jason went to Colchis, a country at the east end of the Euxine or Black Sea, to get the golden fleece. He was promised it if he would plow a field with two fire-breathing

Int. That is so

Tim. [illegible] that one not wanted advice he gave for if we ought to weep over for [illegible] because of their misfortune, then it is [illegible] that we should both weep, they not when they are born, because of all the evils that are in store for them, and when they die because they have had experience of many terrible suffer[illegible] [illegible] Concerning these there would be a [illegible] time according to the poet Homer to tell something—much more than for the [illegible] For those these creatures are said to remain for that as the [illegible] in the case of human beings [illegible] they should remain both [illegible] and winter. But [illegible] would be to set them perish at once of [illegible] as soon as they are born instead of wrapping them up in swaddling clothes and burying them and burying them and giving them as much care [illegible] that they may be wrecked—for such a rude world bright [illegible] and friends or those who care for them [illegible] to remove their own [illegible] from life to the first place. For it is very likely according to the law of reasoning that the very primitive people to be born were born in Cadmus from the dragon's teeth which Jason sowed. For these people [illegible] as soon as they appeared and that they were born forthwith proceeded to make away with one another until they left not one, heaping one

[illegible] and are in the dragon teeth that had not [illegible] there. [illegible] there a [illegible] [illegible] brought [illegible] they had [illegible] one another

ἀλλήλοις δῆλον ὅτι καὶ διὰ φιλίαν τοῦτο πράττοντες, οὐ δι' ἔχθραν.

5 Ἀλλὰ οὗτός γε ὁ ποιητὴς ληρεῖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεται. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ὁμήρου παράττει με, ὅτι αὐτὸ σοφὸς ὢν[1] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτην ἀπεφήνατο τὴν γνώμην.

Δ. Καὶ τί ἄτοπον εἴρηκεν; οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄθλιοί εἰσί φησιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐθέν ἐστι ζῷον ἀνθρώπου ἀθλιώτερον τοῦ γε[2] ἀθλίου, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς φαῖμεν ἄν. ἴσως γέρ τοι καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ὁ ἄνθρωπος κακοδαίμων ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ εὐδαίμων· ἐπεί τοι καὶ μόνος ἄφρων, ὥσπερ καὶ φρόνιμος. οὔτε γὰρ ἄδικος οὔτε ἀκόλαστος εἴη ἂν ἵππος ἢ σῦς ἢ λέων, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄμουσος οὐδὲ ἀγράμματος.

6 Ἀλλὰ καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς διωρθῶσθαι τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου, καὶ ἀποκρίνομαι[3] ὅτι ἡγοῦμαι ἄνθρωπον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι.

Δ. Ἆρ' οὖ ὁ δαίμων[4] ἀγαθός ἐστι, τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι φῄς, οὗ δὲ μοχθηρός,[5] κακοδαίμονα;

Ἔγωγε.

Δ. Δαίμονα δὲ ἄλλως ἀγαθὸν λέγεις,

[1] ὢν added by Arnim. [2] γε Casaubon. Sd.
[3] ἀποκρίνομαι Arnim. ἀποκρίναιμι.
[4] ἆρ' οὗ ὁ δαίμων Emperius. ἆρ ὁ εὐδαίμων M.
[5] οὗ δὲ Emperius. οὐδέ M.

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[1] Euripides.

[2] This view that a man's δαίμων may be good or bad is called the popular one in § 9. It is somewhat like the view which Dio takes for granted in *Discourse* i. 42 and makes Diogenes explicitly

another, evidently and doing this through friendship, not through hatred.

Ind. Well, for my part I think that what this poet[1] says is nonsense But Homer's statement disturbs me because, wise though he was, he expressed that view about mankind

Dio. And what absurdity is there in it? He does not say that all men without exception are wretched, but that there is no creature more wretched than man when it is wretched just as we too undoubtedly shall say, for, mark you, man is perhaps the only unfortunate creature of them all, just as he is the only fortunate one, for, you see, man alone is said to be 'senseless,' just as man alone is said to be 'sensible It is clear that a horse cannot be either unjust or dissolute, nor can a pig or a lion, just as it cannot be uncultured or illiterate

Ind Well I think you have made an excellent correction of Homer's statement, and I reply that I believe man is fortunate

Dio. Then when a man's fortune or guardian spirit is good, you maintain that the man is fortunate, but when it is bad, that he is unfortunate, do you?[2]

Ind. I do.

Dio And do you speak of a guardian spirit as good in a different sense?

state in *Discourse* iv 80, that each man's mind (*νοῦς*) is his δαίμων and may be good or bad. The philosophical view stated in § 9, which Dio says is his own, is that the δαίμων of every man is good This was the Stoic belief See Diogenes as quoted by Galen in *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 5 6, page 469 and Zeller 3 1 315 ff In *Discourse* xx Dio regards the δαίμων, not as spirits or minds ruling men from within, but as men such as popular leaders, kings, or tyrants, or generals who rule other people and direct their destinies.

Ἦ [1] πῶς γε.

Δ. Ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον θεόν· ἢ τοὺς θεούς, εἴπερ νομίζεις ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, οὐ δικαίους νομίζεις καὶ φρονίμους καὶ σώφρονας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀνοήτους καὶ ἀκολάστους;

Οὐδαμῶς ἔγωγε.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ δαίμονα, εἴπερ τινὰ ἀγαθὸν ἡγῇ, δῆλον ὡς δίκαιον ἡγῇ καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ φρόνιμον;

Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

Δ. Ἦ γὰρ ὃν κακόν τινα νομίζεις, πονηρὸν οἴει τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόητον;

Ἀνάγκη πάντως.

7 Δ. Τί δαί, οὐ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα βιοῦν, ὁποῖος ἂν ᾖ ποτε, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕτερον;

Οὐδαμῶς καθ' ἕτερον.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν τὸν τυχόντα ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἡγῇ δικαίως ζῆν καὶ φρονίμως καὶ σωφρόνως, τοιοῦτον γὰρ ὁμολογεῖς εἶναι τὸν δαίμονα αὐτοῦ.

Πάνυ γε.

Δ. Τὸν δὲ μοχθηροῦ δαίμονος πονηρῶς καὶ ἀφρόνως καὶ ἀνοήτως καὶ ἀκολάστως.

Φαίνεται ταῦτα συμβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων νῦν.

Δ. Ἆρα ὅστις ἄνθρωπος νοῦν ἔχων ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σώφρων, οὗτος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῷ

[1] ἦ added by Reiske.

Ist. What do you mean?

Dio. In the sense in which a man is good and, still more, a god, or if you do think that the gods are good, do you think that they are not just and sensible and self-controlled and in possession of all the other virtues, but unjust and senseless and intemperate?

Ist. I certainly do not.

Dio. Then in the case of a guardian spirit also, if you really consider any to be good, is it not clear that you consider it just and useful and sensible?

Ist. Why, of course.

Dio. Pray, when you think that any person is bad, do you believe that he is at the same time evil and unjust and senseless?

Ist. Most assuredly so.

Dio. Well, then, do you not think that each man lives under the direction of his own guiding spirit, of whatever character it may be, and is not directed by a different one?

Ist. Certainly not directed by that of a different one.

Dio. Then do you believe that the man to whom Fortune has given a good guardian spirit lives justly and prudently and temperately? For this is the character that you agree his spirit has.

Ist. Certainly.

Dio. And that the man to whom Fortune has given the bad guardian spirit lives wickedly and senselessly and foolishly and intemperately?

Ist. That appears to follow from what we have just said.

Dio. Then when a man is in possession of intelligence and is just and temperate, is this man fortunate because he is attended by a good spirit,

δαίμονι συνών· ὅστις δὲ ἀσελγὴς καὶ ἄφρων καὶ πανοῦργος, ἀνάγκη κακοδαίμονα φάσκειν ἐκεῖνον κακῷ δαίμονι συνεζευγμένον καὶ λατρεύοντα,

Ἀληθές.

8 Δ. Σοφὸν δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ καλεῖς ἢ τὸν φρόνιμον ἄνθρωπον καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον, φαῦλον δὲ τὸν ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόσιον καὶ δειλόν,

Φημί.

Δ. Μὴ τοίνυν ἔτι θαύμαζε τῶν λεγόντων, ὅτι μόνον καὶ πάντα φασὶ τὸν σοφὸν εὐδαίμονα εἶναι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων οὐδένα ὁντινα οὐ κακοδαίμονα· ἐπειδή γε καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ.

9 Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δοκεῖς μοι οὐ παρὰ δόξαν διειλέχθαι· ὅπως δὲ χρὴ δαιμόνιόν τι πονηρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἄνοητον, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· ἄλλως τε οὐ πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐστίν, εἴπερ θεῖον τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡγεῖσθε, τοιοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνειν.

Δ. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δόξαν διείλεγμαι τὰ πολλά, πλὴν γε αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πᾶς καὶ μόνος εὐδαίμων ὁ σοφός· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως

10 μὴ δοκῶ βιάζεσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ φέρε, εἰ οὖν[1] ἡγεῖσθε τὸ δαιμόνιον θεῖον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ μηδενὶ κακοῦ μηδενὸς αἴτιον, πῶς φατε γίγνεσθαι κακοδαίμονα ἄνθρωπον, ἢ ὅταν μὴ προσέχωσι μηδὲ πείθωνται τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἀγαθῷ ὄντι, ὥσπερ εἰ νομίζοιμεν[2] τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἅπαντας ἀγαθοὺς

[1] οὖν Cobet: οὐχ. [2] νομίζοιμεν Reiske: νομίζεις.

but when a man is dissolute and foolish and wicked, must we maintain that he is unfortunate because he is yoked to a bad spirit and serves it?

Int. True.

Dio. And do you describe as wise anyone except the man who is sensible and just and holy and brave, and as a fool him who is unjust and unholy and cowardly?

Int. I do.

Dio. Then you should no longer be surprised when people say that they hold the wise man alone and with it exception to be fortunate or happy, whereas of fools there is none that is not unfortunate or unhappy; you should agree to this inasmuch as you also seem to hold that view.

Int. What you have said so far I think has been quite reasonable; but how are we to consider any spirit to be wicked and unjust and senseless, I am unable to say; and besides, it is not like you philosophers, if you really hold that the guiding spirit is divine, to assume any such thing.

Dio. Well, just now I have not been expressing my own view for the most part except in this one matter, that I believe every wise man is fortunate and happy and he alone; but in everything else I have accepted the views of the majority of men, that I may not seem to be forcing my own views on them. For just consider. If you really believe that the guiding spirit is divine and good and the author of no evil to anyone, how do you explain a man's becoming unfortunate, that is, unhappy? Or does that happen when he does not heed or obey his guiding spirit, this being good? It is just as if we should think that all physicians are good in the matters of

εἶναι τὰ τῆς τέχνης καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν πονηρὸν ἰατρὸν μηδὲ βλαβερόν, τῶν δὲ καμνόντων κακῶς τινας πράττοντας βλέποιμεν[1] καὶ βλαπτομένους ἐν ταῖς νόσοις· δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ἂν φαῖμεν μὴ ἐθέλειν τὰ προσταττόμενα ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πειθομένους ἀνάγκη καλῶς ἀπαλλάττειν· καὶ ὅ τι ἂν γίγνοιτο[2] οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοι τις.[3]

Οὕτως[4] ἔχει.

11 Δ. Πότερον οὖν δοκοῦσί σοι οἱ[5] ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντως[6] καὶ σώφρονες καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες, οὗτοι ἀπειθεῖν ἂν τοῖς ἰατροῖς τοῖς ἐμπείροις καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα προστάττουσιν, ἢ τοὐναντίον οἱ ἀνόητοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι;

Δῆλον ὅτι οἱ ἀκόλαστοι.

Δ. Τί δέ; τῷ δαιμονι χρηστῷ ὄντι πείθεσθαι καὶ ζῆν, ἐκεῖνον πότερον ἡγῇ τῶν σωφρόνων εἶναι καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων;

Τῶν σωφρόνων.

12 Δ. Τὸ δέ γε μὴ πείθεσθαι μηδὲ προσέχειν ἀλλ' ἐναντίως τῷ θείῳ τε καὶ δαιμονίῳ πράττειν, τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀγνωμόνων;

Πῶς δ' ἂν ἄλλως λέγοιμεν,

Δ. Εἶναι δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους τῷ δαιμονίῳ τοιούτῳ ὄντι εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας κακοδαίμονας;

Ἀνάγκη.

[1] βλέποιμεν Reiske : βλέπομεν.
[2] ὅ τι ἂν (Capps) γίγνοιτο Cohoon τί ἂν γίγνεσθαι.
[3] οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοι τις Capps, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιμεν. Reiske θαυμάζειν.

their profession and that none of them is a bad physician or harmful, but yet should see some of their patients doing poorly and suffering harm in their illnesses, evidently we should say that they refuse to obey orders and that such patients as do obey cannot but come through well, and nothing that should happen to them would surprise anyone.

Int. That is right.

Dio. Do you think, therefore, that the really self-controlled and sober and sensible patients are those who would disobey their physicians when these are skilled and prescribe the treatment that is good for them, or, on the contrary, the senseless and uncontrolled?

Int. Evidently the uncontrolled.

Dio. Then again, do you hold that to obey the guardian spirit when it is good, and to live in conformity with its direction, is a mark of those who are temperate and sensible or of those who are wicked and senseless?

Int. Of those who are temperate.

Dio. And that to refuse to obey and give heed and to act contrary to that which is divine and from the guardian spirit is a mark of the bad and foolish?

Int. How could we say anything else?

Dio. And that those who obey the guiding spirit, since it is of this character, are 'fortunate and happy,' and that those who disobey are 'unfortunate and unhappy?'

Int. Necessarily so.

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[1] *αἰτίας ἔχει*, Reiske: *αἰτίας ἔχουσι*.
[2] *ὡς* added by Geel.
[3] *ἔστιν* Cobet: *εἶναι*, which Geel deletes.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα συμβαίνει τὸν μὲν σοφὸν καὶ φρόνιμον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι πάντα, τὸν δὲ φαῦλον κακοδαίμονα, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου κακοῦ ὄντος, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸν οὐ προσέχοντα[1] ἐκείνῳ χρηστῷ ὄντι.

[1] προσέχοντα Reiske, προσχόντα.

Dio. Therefore, here also it turns out that the wise and sensible man is 'fortunate and happy' in every case, but that the worthless man is 'unfortunate and unhappy,' not because his guardian spirit is bad, but because, although it is good, he does not heed it.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON HAPPINESS

This Discourse, like the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, begins by saying that the majority of men act wrongly in respect to something and then proceeds to set them right. This same admonishing attitude is found also in Discourse 13. 18–28, where Dio tells of the beginning of his 'preaching' activity during his exile. For this reason von Arnim believes that all these Discourses, except the last of course, belong to the period of Dio's exile.

The great majority of men, says Dio, select their occupation in life without first considering the important question of what the life of man should be, and what is the highest good for him, the ideal toward which he should strive. Only the man who knows what this highest good is and subordinates everything else to it can gain true success and happiness.

Οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν πεφρόντικασιν ὁποίους χρὴ εἶναι οὐδὲ ὅ τι βέλτιστον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστίν, οὗ ἕνεκα χρὴ πάντα τἆλλα πράττειν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐσπουδάκασι οἱ μὲν ἱππεύειν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἀγωνίας, οἱ δὲ περὶ μουσικήν, ἄλλοι περὶ γεωργίαν ἄλλοι δύνασθαι λέγειν, ἥντινα δὲ χρείαν αὐτοῖς ἔχει τούτων ἕκαστον ἤ τι τὸ ὄφελος ἐξ αὐτοῦ γίγνοιτ' ἄν, οὐκ ἴσασιν
2 οὐδὲ ζητοῦσιν τοιγαροῦν ἱππεῖς μὲν ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται τινες, οἳ ἂν φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτὸ καὶ[1] ἐκμελετῶσι, καὶ παλαῖσαι ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἱκανώτεροι καὶ πυκτεῦσαι καὶ δραμεῖν καὶ τἆλλα ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ τοῦ σπόρου μὴ διαμαρτεῖν, καὶ πλέοντες μὴ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναῦν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ μουσικὴν τινες ἐπιστάνται βέλτιον ἑτέρων ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ φρόνιμον, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰδότα ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ νοῦν ἔχων, οὐδένα τούτων ἔστιν εὑρεῖν.

3 Αὐτίκα περὶ τὸ λέγειν πάντως[2] ἐσπουδάκασι

[1] φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτὸ καὶ Rmpertus φιλοπονῶσι καὶ UB, φιλοπονοῦσιν αὐτοὶ M.
[2] πάντως Goel πάντες.

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[1] See Horace, *Odes* I. 1 for a similar reference to the different interests and occupations of men.

[2] The same three types of oratory the forensic, the deliberative, and the epideictic, are mentioned by Aristotle in his

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON HAPPINESS

THE majority of men have not as a rule concerned themselves at all with the question of what kind of men they ought to be, not of what is ideally man's best good, to the attainment of which we should direct all our efforts in order that each in accordance with his nature they have devoted their powers some to horsemanship, some to military commands, some to athletic competitions, others to music or farming, or experiences in oratory.[1] But what practical utility each of these pursuits has for themselves, or what possible advantage may accrue from it, they do not know or even try to ascertain. The consequence is that while some become good horsemen, in case they work hard at that and train diligently, and some become more efficient in wrestling than others or in boxing or running, or in other contests, or in avoiding crop failures, or in sailing the seas without wrecking their ships, and in knowledge of music some surpass others, yet the good and prudent man, one who can answer the all-important question, "What man is he who is virtuous and intelligent?" cannot be found among them all.

Take oratory,[2] for instance. There are many well-

Rhetoric I. 1. 3. Plato, Protagoras 328 b) and the same expression, plead in courts of law.

πολλοὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, καὶ φιλοτίμων εἶναι δοκούντων, οἱ μὲν ὥστε ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς δῆμον λέγοντες, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἰσχύειν πλέον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοὶ θέλωσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἕνεκα τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ὅπως δεινοὶ νομίζωνται. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῆς φασι τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν λέγοντες, οἱ δὲ συγγραφοντες μόνον, οὓς ἔφη τις τῶν πρότερον μεθόρια εἶναι τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν[1] ὅτι δὲ συμφέρει πράττουσιν ἢ πρὸς ὅ τι ἡ δόξα αὐτοῖς ὠφέλιμος ἢ τί τῆς ἐμπειρίας ταύτης ὄφελος, οὐ σκοποῦσιν.

4 Ἐγὼ δέ φημι πάντα τἆλλα διχα τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας καὶ ζητήσεως ὀλίγου ἄξια εἶναι, τῷ δὲ ἐκείνο ἐννοήσαντι καὶ ξυνέντι, τούτῳ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ στρατηγεῖν καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ἄλλο ποιῇ, ξυμφέρον τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γίγνεσθαι ἐπεὶ τό γε ἐπαινεῖσθαι καθ' ἑαυτο ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀνοήτων, οἱοίπερ εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοι, ἢ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἢ τὰ ἡδέως ζῆν οὐδὲν ἂν διαφέροι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦ φεύγεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐπινόνως ζῆν

[1] Plato (op. cit. 305 c) speaks of one such man and credits Protarchus with the statement that these men occupy the border between philosophy and politics. Isocrates would be an example of such a man.

[illegible] consider

But as for me I care not whether the knowledge of which I speak and the quest be at [illegible] other things are the most but that for the man who has [illegible] upon that superior part and as some to [illegible] it for practicing [illegible] exercising [illegible] command or any other activity that may [illegible] his advantage and is directed towards a good For the truth is that for aid of [illegible] persons who [illegible] life [illegible] not as far as happiness is concerned be one what better than being [illegible] by him, or having no influence or leading a [illegible]*

* See [illegible] as to the [illegible] of being guided by [illegible] of the many

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON THE GUIDING (OR GUARDIAN) SPIRIT

This Discourse, like the twenty-first, twenty-third, and twenty-sixth, is one of the twelve Discourses which are in the form of a dialogue reported directly and are believed to belong to the period of Dio's exile, although in this case after the first few exchanges Dio does all the speaking. He introduces and illustrates the apparently original view, a suggestion for which he may have got from Plato's *Republic* 620 b, that the guiding spirit (δαίμων) is not something within the man himself but is some other man who controls him and determines his destiny. One man may even control a great number of men, such as are found in a city, a race, or an empire, and be the cause of their faring well or ill. In this case he is their δαίμων.

Even though Dio does not in this Discourse keep his promise given at the outset, to tell about the view of the philosophers that only the wise man is happy, yet the Discourse appears to be complete in the form in which we have it.

25. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ

Φασὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους λέγειν ὡς ἄρα εὐδαίμων εἴη μόνος ὁ σοφός.

Δ. *Λέγουσι γάρ*

Ἆρ' οὖν ἀληθῆ σοι δοκοῦσι λέγειν,

Δ. *Ἔμοιγε.*

Τί οὖν οὐχὶ κἀμοὶ ἔφρασας τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν;

Δ. *Ἐὰν ἐμοὶ σὺ πρῶτον εἴπῃς ὅ τι νομίζεις τὸν δαίμονα εἶναι.*

Ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ κρατοῦν ἑκάστου καὶ καθ' ὃν ζῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστος, ὁμοίως μὲν ἐλεύθερος, ὁμοίως δὲ δοῦλος, καὶ πλούσιος καὶ πένης καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἰδιώτης, καὶ πράττει ὅσα ἂν πράττῃ.

Δ. *Τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ νομίζεις εἶναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ κρατοῦν ἑκάστου, ὃ δαίμονα καλεῖς, ἢ ἔξω τι*[1] *ἂν, ἄρχον τε*[2] *καὶ κύριον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,*

[1] *ἔξω τι* Cobet *ἔξωθεν.* [2] *ἄρχον τε* Reiske *ἄρχοντα.*

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[1] The Stoic view. The Academy held practically the same view. Cf. Plato, *Alcibiades* 134a: "Then, unless a man is self-controlled and good, it is not possible for him to be wise"—*οὐκ ἄρα οἷόν τε, ἐὰν μή τις σώφρων καὶ ἀγαθὸς ᾖ, εὐδαίμονα εἶναι,* and Xenocrates as reported by Aristotle, *Τόπικα* 2. 6, 112 a. 37: "Xenocrates says that it is the man who has a good soul who is happy"—*Ξενοκράτης φησὶν εὐδαίμονα εἶναι τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα σπουδαίαν,* and see Discourse 23. 8, where Dio speaking as a Stoic says that the wise man is sensible, just, holy, and brave.

For the meaning of 'happy' see p. 301, n. 1.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE ON THE GUIDING (OR GUARDIAN) SPIRIT

Interlocutor. People say the philosophers maintain that really only the wise man can be happy.[1]

Dio. Yes, that is what they maintain.

Int. Well, do you think they speak the truth?

Dio. I do.

Int. Then why have you never stated their view to me?

Dio. I will, if you tell me first what you think the guiding spirit is.

Int. For my part, I believe that it is that which controls each individual and under whose direction each human being lives, alike whether he be a free man or a slave, whether he be rich or poor, a king or a plain citizen, and no matter what his business in life is.

Dio. And do you think that this principle is within the man himself, this thing which controls the individual, which we call the guiding spirit,[2] or that, while being a power outside of the man, it yet rules him and is master of him?

[1] Dio's word is δαίμων, other writers identify the inner spirit with τρόπος or ἦθος. Cf. Epicharmus, frag. 258 Kaibel: "Character is man's good guiding spirit, but in some cases it is bad." ἀνθρώποισι δαίμων ἀγαθός, οἷς δὲ καὶ κακός. Heraclitus, frag. 119: "Character is man's guiding spirit": ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων, and Menander, *Epitrepontes* 479 ff.

Γνωμη

2 Δ. Ἆρα γε ἀνθρώπου ἄνευ· ἔστι γάρ τοι ἀνθρώπου, ὁ μὲν τινος ἐκεῖνος κρατῶν, ὁ δὲ πολίτου καὶ ἄγων ὅστε τε καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸς βούλεται ἢ τοιοῦδε ἢ δυοῖν ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέροις· λέγω δὲ φύσει ἄγνωστον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε δημαγωγοὺς, εἰς πάντα πειθόμενοι οἱ πολῖται καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι[1] ἐξηγῶνται καὶ συμβουλεύωσιν, οὕτω πράττουσιν, ἰόν τε πολεμεῖν συμβουλεύωσιν εἰς τε εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἰόν τε τεῖχη οἰκοδομεῖσθαι ἰόν τε τριήρεις κατασκευάζεσθαι εἰς τε θυσίας θεῶν ἰόν τε ἐκβαλεῖν τινας αὐτῶν ἢ χρήματα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ἀποσφάττειν· καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς τυράννους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅστε ἀρτίως καταβαλόντες ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ

3 κεκτῆνται τινα· ὡς δὲ εἰ Λυκοῦργός τε Λακεδαιμονίοις δεσπότης κελοῖ· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ κελεύσαντος ἵνα μὴ μισοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ θυραυλοῖεν καὶ γυμνητεύοιεν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ δόξαντα ἂν ἑτέρου ἀνέχοντο καὶ Πεισιστράτου Ἀθηναίων τῶν[2] πρότερον εἰδότα γὰρ ἤδεσαν ὅτι Πεισιστράτου προστατοῦντος[3] καὶ ἄρχοντος εἰς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐ κατήεσαν ὁ δῆμος, ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ διατριβόντες γεωργοὶ ἐνίγνοντο καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον φίλην καὶ ἡδεῖαν ὁδὸν, ἐλαίας κατεφύτευον, Πεισιστράτου προστατοῦντος· καὶ τἄλλα ὅπως ἐκεῖνος ἐβούλετο, οὕτως ἔπραττον

4 Ὕστερον δὲ ἴσως ἔλεγε τὴν φαίη τις ἂν καὶ

[1] ἐκεῖνοι Morel: ἐκείνου. [2] τῶν added by Reiske.
[3] προστατοῦντος Mahlstedt: προστατοῦντος.

Ath. The latter is my belief.

Clin. Do you mean a different person? For I [illegible] it is a person who [illegible] one [illegible] person or more and in another [illegible] one [illegible] them where and how he [illegible] by using either persuasion or force or both. And I am [illegible] nothing that a [illegible] has referred to the [illegible] which the [illegible] everything and the [illegible] to those who direct and advise, whether they advise [illegible] or to remove [illegible] of power [illegible] the [illegible] of their number or to [illegible] their property or even to cut the [illegible] and I [illegible] and terror and [illegible] of persons who [illegible] for a [illegible] of the [illegible] spirit of the Spartans [illegible] the Spartans [illegible] and [illegible] that [illegible] and Pronoia the guiding spirit of the universe. [illegible] for you know I persuade [illegible] Pronoia was under [illegible] the [illegible] on the [illegible] and became farmers, and that Attica, which was formerly bare and barren, they planted with [illegible] trees of [illegible] order of [illegible] and in everything else they did exactly as he wished.

And, later on, one might perhaps say that not only

[1] Nearly the same view is expressed in [illegible] 5, 6, 7.

[2] [illegible]

Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Περικλέα γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνήκοος δήπου τυγχάνεις περὶ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν, τὸν μέν, ὅτι ναυμαχεῖν Ἀθηναίους ἠναγκασε πεζοὺς πρότερον ὄντας καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προεμένους τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους προγόνων ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ ποιήσασθαι πάντα τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα, καὶ ὕστερον τὸν Πειραιᾶ τειχίσαι πλείονων ἢ ἑκατὸν σταδίων καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔπραττον ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος παρῆν, τὰ δὲ καὶ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τελευτήσαντος· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄλλους τινὰς ἴσως φήσεις δαίμονας γεγονέναι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οἷον Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν Κλεινίου καὶ Νικίαν καὶ Κλέωνα καὶ Ὑπέρβολον, τοὺς μέν τινας ἐπιεικεῖς τι χρόνον, τοὺς δὲ πάνυ πονηρούς τε καὶ χαλεπούς.

5 Ἔτι δὲ Κῦρον Περσῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ[1] δαίμονα γενέσθαι, δαίμονα[2] βασιλικόν τινα καὶ ἐλευθέριον, ὃς δουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς Μήδοις πρότερον εἰς ἐλευθέρων ἀφείλετο καὶ πάντων ἀπέφηνε δεσπότας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· ἔτι δὲ Καμβύσην

[1] ἐπὶ χρόνον τινα Cohoon ἀπὸ χρόνου τινός
[2] δαίμονα Cohoon καὶ, which Reiske deleted.

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[1] That is, Themistocles when Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 B.C.

[2] The chief seaport of Athens and about 5 miles away. A thick wall was built all round it in Munychian peninsula in which the Peiraeus was. This wall kept close to the sea and was continued along the north side of the harbour of Cantharus. The entrances to the harbour of the Peiraeus and to the two small havens of Munychia and Zea on the east side of the peninsula were fortified with moles. 90 stades are approxi-

others but Themistocles and Pericles also became guiding spirits, for I take it that you have heard about these two men, how the latter compelled the Athenians, who had been foot soldiers before, to fight on the sea, to give up their country and their city to the barbarians, as well as the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors, and stake all their fortunes on their fleet, and afterwards to fortify the Peiraeus[1] with walls of more than ninety stades in length and enjoined upon them by his orders other measures of the same kind, some of which they continued to carry out only as long as he was present, and others even when he was in banishment and after his death.[2] Yes, and at a still later time certain other men, you may perhaps say, have become guiding spirits of the Athenians, for example, Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, and Nicias,[3] Cleon,[4] and Hyperbolus[5]—some few of them honourable men perhaps, but the rest utterly wicked and cruel.

Then again you might say that Cyrus[6] became for a time a guiding spirit of the Persians, a spirit kingly indeed and heroic in character, who, when the Persians were enslaved to the Medes, gave them liberty and made them masters of all the peoples of Asia, and you

[1] nearly 10-24 miles. Thucydides 2. 13. 7 gives the distance as 60 stades.

[2] Nothing to said about the achievements of Pericles.

[3] Athenian general and leader of the aristocratic party who opposed Alcibiades and thoroughly disapproved of the Sicilian expedition.

[4] Originally a tanner. Opposed Pericles and for six years of the Peloponnesian war led the party opposed to peace.

[5] Athenian demagogue of servile origin who came into prominence during the Peloponnesian war.

[6] Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire.

καὶ Δαρεῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐφεξῆς, τὸν μὲν Καμβύσην τά τε χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀναλισκοντα καὶ αὐτοὺς κατατοξεύοντα καὶ στρατείας προστάττοντα χαλεπὰς καὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ μηδέποτε ἐῶντα οἴκοι μένειν· τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον χρήματα μὲν ὡς οἷόν τε πολλὰ συναγαγόντα καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ γενόμενον αἴτιον ὅπως ἐργασθήσεται, πολέμους δὲ καὶ τούτον ἀναγκάζοντα πολεμεῖν χαλεπούς καὶ ἐπικινδύνους, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τὸν πρὸς Σκύθας καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

6 Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Νουμᾶν μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τυχὸν ἂν λέγοιεν αὐτῶν[1] δαίμονα, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Ἄννωνα καὶ Ἀννίβαν, Μακεδόνες δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ Φίλιππον, ὃς Μακεδόνας ταπεινοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσαντος Ὀλυνθίοις τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἰσχυροὺς ἐποίησε καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἁπάσης Εὐρώπης ἐγκρατεῖς· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὕστερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξαγαγὼν ἅμα μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπέδειξεν, ἅμα δὲ πενιχροτάτους, καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἰσχυρούς, ἅμα δὲ ἀσθενεῖς, φυγάδας τε καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς αὐτούς, Αἴγυπτόν τε[2] καὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα καὶ Ἐκβάτανα προσθεὶς,

[1] αὐτῶν Emperius αὐτῶν M, αὐτὸν UB.
[2] τε Cobet, μὲν Reiske δὲ

[1] Second of that name and son of Cyrus the Great, reigned 529–522 B.C. conquered Egypt but was unsuccessful against the Armenians and the Ethiopians.
[2] Defeated at Marathon by the Athenians.

might go on to name Cambyses and Darius and their successors. Cambyses,[1] who squandered the money that his subjects down, sent them on tedious campaigns without intermission, and never allowed them to stay at home; and Darius, who amassed as much money as possible, caused the land to be cultivated, and like the other forced them to wage difficult and dangerous wars for instance, as I read, the one against the Scythians and the one against the Athenians.[2]

And thus also by the Romans Numa[3] might perhaps be named as the guiding spirit and Hannibal and Hasdrubal by the Carthaginians and Alexander by the Macedonians or even Philip, who, when the Macedonians were numerous and weak and his father had ceded part of his kingdom to the Olynthians, made them strong and warlike and masters of nearly all Europe.[4] Then afterwards Alexander, succeeding Philip, led them over into Asia and made them at once the weakest of all peoples and at the same time the poorest, at once strong and at the same time weak, the same men being both equal and kings; because when he conquered Egypt, Babylon, Susa,[5] and Ecbatana,[6] he deprived them of Argae.[7]

[1] Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, revered by the Romans as the [illegible]

[2] A great exaggeration. By [illegible] the wars of Cambyses [illegible] he led [illegible] to the overthrowing of [illegible] His father was Artaxerxes II, who reigned 359-338 B.C.

[3] [illegible] Shinar in the Old Testament. It was the winter residence of the Persian kings.

[4] [illegible] of the Macedonian kingdom and afterwards the summer residence of the Persian kings.

[5] Ancient Ecbatana. It was the ancient capital of Macedonia and the burial place of the Macedonian kings.

Αἰγὰς δὲ καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον ἀφελόμενος
7 Καρχηδονίους δὲ Ἄνων μὲν ἀντὶ Τυρίων ἐποίησε Λίβυας καὶ Λιβύην κατοικεῖν ἀντὶ Φοινίκης, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ συχνὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ λιμένας καὶ τριήρεις, καὶ πολλῆς μὲν γῆς, πολλῆς δὲ θαλάττης ἄρχειν. Ἀννίβας δὲ πρὸς τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς κρατῆσαι παρέσχεν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη· αὖθις δὲ αἴτιος ἐγένετο ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν μεταβαλεῖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, πολλοὺς πρότερον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσας, καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχὼν αὐτὴν ἑλεῖν τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐ βουληθεὶς δέ, ὥς φασι, διὰ τοὺς οἴκοι ἀντιστασιώτας.

Καίτοι[1] τοῦτον ἴσως οὔτε Καρχηδονίοις οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσήκει[2] αὐτῶν[3]
8 καλεῖσαι. Νουμᾶς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην παραλαβὼν μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον ἔτι, ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ χώρᾳ δὲ ᾠκισμένην[4] καὶ σύγκλυδας καὶ πονηροὺς ἔχουσαν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς προσχώροις πᾶσιν ἐχθροὺς καὶ πένητας καὶ ἀγρίους καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ζῶντας διὰ[5] τὴν Ῥωμύλου χαλεπότητα, τήν τε γῆν[6] αὐτοὺς βεβαίως ἔχειν ἐποίησε καὶ

[1] καίτοι Capps: καί.
[2] προσήκειν Reiske: προσήκειν.
[3] αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν.
[4] δὲ ᾠκισμένην Emperius: διῳκισμένην.
[5] διὰ added by Emperius.
[6] χαλεπότητα, τήν τε γῆν Emperius: χαλεπωτάτην τε γῆν M, χαλεπωτάτην γῆν UB.

[illegible] Pyrrhus[1] and Dionysius[2] And the Carthaginian Hannibal[3] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

φίλους εἶναι τοῖς περιοίκοις καὶ νόμους καὶ θεοὺς καὶ πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο, καὶ πάσης αἴτιος ὑπῆρξε τῆς λεγομένης ὕστερον εὐδαιμονίας.

9 Ἔχοιμι δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν πόλεων καὶ γενῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εὖ τε καὶ κακῶς πραξάντων διά τινας ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν γενομένους καὶ προστάτας· ἀλλὰ ἱκανῶς οἶμαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ἐνδεδεῖχθαι εἰ δὴ τούτους καλεῖς δαίμονας ὄντως[1] τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ δι' οὓς ἕκαστοι βέλτιον ἢ χεῖρον ἔπραξαν, ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούοιμι.

[1] ὄντως Cohoon. ὡς.

on terms of friendship with their neighbours, and gave them a code of laws, and gods to worship, and a political constitution, thus becoming the author of all their subsequent felicity of which all men speak.

I could go on to speak in the same way about the other cities, and races, and populations which have fared well or ill on account of certain men who were their rulers and leaders. However, my own opinion has, I think, been made sufficiently clear. So, if you do call those I have mentioned in very truth guiding spirits of those who were under their sway and who severally fared better or worse on account of them, I should be glad to hear what you have to say.

Bonny

26. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ

Πάλαι, καθήμενος καὶ ὑμῶν ἀκούων, ὅτε πολλὰς ὥρας[1] διετρίβετε παρά τινι τῶν πολιτικῶν βουλευόμενοι περί τινων πραγμάτων, σκοπῶ παρ' ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ἀναζητῶ τί ἐστι τοῦτο ὅ φατε βουλεύεσθαι ἢ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι[2] ἆρα γὰρ περὶ τούτου τις βουλεύεται τοῦ πράγματος ὃ οἶδέ τε καὶ ἐπίσταται,

Οὐ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ ὧν τις οἶδε, περὶ τούτων βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἤδη εἰδέναι

Τί δαί, ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ[3] ἐπίσταται, περὶ τούτων ὥσπερ διαμαντευόμενος καὶ ἀναζητῶν γνῶναι ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν,

Οὐ δοκεῖ μοι οὐδὲ οὗτος δύνασθαι βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τούτων περὶ ὧν οὐδεμιαν ἐπιστήμην ἔχει.

2 Ἆρα οὖν μὴ τοιόνδε τι ἢ το βουλεύεσθαι, ὥστε τινὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τινὰ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, και τοῦτο ἢ περὶ οὗ βουλεύονται ἄνθρωποι, ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλουθήσωμεν, δι' εἰκόνος τινὸς ἐπιδείξομεν αὐτό· ὑποτιθέμεθα γὰρ εἰδέναι μὲν

[1] πολλὰς ὥρας Cobet: πολλης ὥρας.

[2] The phrase ἢ αὐτο δὴ τὸ βουλευεσθαι was deleted by Emperius, followed by Arnim and Budé, as being a repetition of the preceding. It may well be, however. The a own closer definition of the problem. ἢ ὅ τι U, ἢ omitted by M.

[3] ἃ after οὐδὲ deleted by Reisko.

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[1] The *Sisyphus* has the same sub-title.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON DELIBERATION[1]

Dio. For a long time, as I sat and listened to you men when you spent many hours at the home of one of our public men in deliberating about certain affairs of state, I have been considering by myself and examining the meaning of that which you call deliberation, or what deliberation in the abstract is.[2] Does a person really deliberate about a matter which he knows and understands?

Interlocutor. I do not think that when a person knows certain things he deliberates about them, but that he already knows them.

Dio. Well then, when there are things he does not know or understand, is it about these that he deliberates, casting about as it were like a diviner, and thus seeking to find out what he does not know?[3]

Int. It does not seem to me that this man, either, can deliberate about things when he has no knowledge about them.

Dio. Then can deliberation be something like this— that when men know some things but do not know other things, this is the subject about which they deliberate?[4] And in order that we may follow the argument better, we shall make it clear by an illustration. For instance, we assume that we know

[1] Cf. *Sisyphus* 387 c. [2] *Ibid.* 387 d. [3] *Ibid.* 388 a.

ἡμᾶς Χαρικλέα καὶ Χαρίξενον, ὅπου δὲ οἰκοῦσιν, ἀγνοεῖν, στοχάζεσθαι δὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῖν
3 μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο ἢ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι,[1] ὥστε ἐξ ὧν οἴδαμεν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδέπω ἴσμεν τεκμαίρεσθαι[2] ἤ, καθάπερ οἱ ἀρτιάζοντες ἴσασι μὲν ὅτι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχουσιν οἱ προκαλεσάμενοι αὐτοὺς χρῆμα, οὐ μέντοι ὅτι τοσοῦτον,[3] ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε καὶ ἐπέτυχον εἰπεῖν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ κρατήσαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν· μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι τοιοῦτον ἦ, ὥστε εἰδέναι μέν τι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἀγνοοῦμεν,[4] στοχασάμενοι ἐνίοτε αὐτομάτως ἐπετύχομεν καὶ μετ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιστήμης.

4 Φέρε γὰρ ἴδωμεν ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα· τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ ὑφέστηκε, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὄντα οὔτε ἔστιν[5] οὔτε ἐγένετο οὔτε ὑφέστηκεν· οὐ δεῖ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἤδη ὄντων· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ οὐδὲν ὄφελος περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ὑφεστηκότων βουλεύεσθαι· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλευσόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ γένηται τὰ γεγονότα, οὐ δύναται μὴ γεγονέναι· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ᾖ τὰ

[1] The phrase μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο ἢ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι of the MSS was deleted by Arnim (followed by Budé). ἄρα Emperius ἄρα.
[2] ἤ added by Wegehaupt.
[3] Sauppe would add ἢ τοσοῦτον.
[4] ἀγνοοῦμεν Emperius ἀγνοοῦμεν.
[5] ἔστιν Dindorf ἐστί.

[1] Cf. Διογένης 388a.
[2] In the game ἀρτιασμός the challenger asked another to guess whether the objects held in his closed hand were odd or even in number. In Aristophanes, *Plutus* 816, where we read στοιβοὶ δ' οἱ θεράποντες ἀρτιάζομεν χρυσοῦ, the game seems to have been to guess the number of coins, for the common notion of the stater was known—two drachmas. *Ibid.* 1057 the

Charicles and Charicrates, but do not know where they are and so are making conjectures about their place of residence, is not this deliberation, the drawing of inferences from what we do know about that which we do not yet know?[1] Or just as people playing at odd and even know that the challengers have something in their hands but not how much, yet sometimes they do hit upon the right answer and in that way come off victorious? May we conclude, then, that deliberation has to do with this—that though there is something we do know, yet concerning all the other things which we do not know we make a guess and sometimes accidentally hit it although without any knowledge?

Now come, let us see what the nature of the thing is.[2] Things which are in being both are and have come to be, and exist; while things that are not in being neither are, nor have come into being, nor do they exist. Now we do not need deliberation for things which are already in being, for there is no profit in deliberating about things which have come into being and exist. In fact, what imaginable reason will we have for deliberating about them? In order that things that have come into being may not come into being? It is impossible for them not to have come into being. Why is it in order that things which are

gives yourself over merely guessing the number of teeth the old nag has left.

[1] Cf. *Sophist* 237 d.

[2] [illegible] that [illegible] do not fit into the context. In the *Sophist* [illegible] this part of the argument [illegible] because Socrates has just expressed the view that no man can deliberate better than another [illegible] shooting an arrow at random when there is no target to aim at.

ὄντα; πῶς;[1] δυνάμεθα ποιῆσαι μὴ εἶναι οὕτως ὡς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ὑφεστήκῃ; πᾶν τὸ ὂν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ὄντων
5 τί ἄν τις καὶ βουλεύοιτο, περὶ τίνων οὖν βουλευόμεθα; περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ὡς ὁ λόγος ὑποδείκνυσι. τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε ὑφέστηκεν περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων οὖν τίς δύναται βουλεύεσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑφεστώτων, τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ὂν οὐδέν ἐστι περὶ δὲ τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος οὐδεὶς δύναται βουλεύεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἄρα δύναται βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ ἐπί ὄντι[2] τινί ἐστιν. τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐκ ἔστιν οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων δύναιτ' ἂν εἶναι.

6 Τι οὖν, ὁ ἄμουσος καὶ ὁ ἀνεπιστήμων ἁρμονίας καὶ μέλους καὶ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τῆς τούτων τάξεως καὶ κινήσεως δυναιτ' ἂν καλῶς βουλεύσασθαι περὶ μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν κατὰ μουσικήν,

Οὐδαμῶς

Τί δέ, ὁ γεωμετρίας ἄπειρος περὶ σώματος καὶ μήκους καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους βουλευόμενος ἂν καλῶς βουλεύοιτο;

Οὐδὲ οὗτος.

Τί δέ; ὁ νεὼς ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος περὶ νεὼς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔργων κυβερνητικῶν ἱκανῶς ἂν βουλευόμενος βουλεύοιτο;

Οὐδὲ οὗτος

[1] πῶς, δυνάμεθα Capps πῶς δυνάμεθα.
[2] ὄντι added by Capps.

in being may not be? Absurd. Can we prevent their being, just as they have come to be? Well, is it in order that they may not exist? Everything which is in being has existence. But about things that are in being why should a person deliberate anyway? About what things then do we deliberate? About the future, as the argument suggests. But the future neither is, nor has been, nor exists. Hence, about things that are not and do not exist, who is able to deliberate? For the thing not in being is nothing, and about that which is not no one can deliberate. Hence no one can deliberate about things which are yet to be, for deliberation deals with a thing that is, and that which is yet to be does not exist. Therefore deliberation cannot possibly be about the future either.

Take another case. Would the unmusical person and the one who has no knowledge of harmony, melody, rhythm, and their arrangement and movement be able to deliberate successfully about music and the operations involved in music?[1]

Int. Certainly not.

Another point. Would the man who has no knowledge of geometry, in deliberating about a solid body, its length, width, and height, deliberate successfully?[2]

Int. No, he also would not.

Dio. Then further. Would the man who does not know how to command a ship, in deliberating about the command of a ship and the duties of the captain, deliberate competently?[3]

Int. No, he would not, either.

[1] Cf. *Euripides* 389 c–d. [2] *Ibid.* 389 e.
[3] *Ibid.* 389 e–d.

7 Ὅστις ἄρα[1] οὐδὲν ἱκανῶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὔτε πεπαίδευται οὔτε[2] οἶδεν, αὐτὸς οὐδὲ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τούτου ἱκανός ἐστιν· χρὴ οὖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μάλιστα φρονήσεως καὶ παιδείας, ἵνα ἡμῖν ᾖ ῥᾴδιον περὶ ἁπάντων πραγμάτων βουλεύεσθαι καὶ εἰδέναι τὸ συνοῖσον ἑκάστῳ βουλῇ καὶ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ οἱ μουσικοὶ καὶ οἱ γεωμετραι καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων τεχνικῶς[3] σκέπτονται καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ περί τι δεινοί, καὶ σύνεσιν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱκανοί[4] εἰσιν, οὕτω δὴ· καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἱκανοὶ
8 ὦμεν βουλεύεσθαι καὶ λέγειν· ἄτοπον γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀρτιάζοντας συνέσιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζοντας καὶ μὴ ὁρῶντας τοῦτο περὶ οὗ ἀποφαίνονται, τοὺς δὲ περὶ πραγμάτων βουλευομένους μήτε ξύνεσιν μήτε ἐπιστήμην μήτε ἐμπειρίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ τούτων ἐνίοτε τῶν μεγίστων ὄντων, περὶ ὁμονοίας καὶ φιλίας οἰκείων καὶ πόλεων καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου καὶ περὶ κατοικισμοῦ καὶ περὶ κατοικίσεως, περί τε παίδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν

[1] ὅστις ἄρα Wilamowitz: ἄρα ὅστις.
[2] οὔτε … οὔτε Emperius: οὐδὲ … οὐδέ.
[3] τεχνικῶς or μετὰ τέχνης Cobet: ἀτεχνῶς.
[4] ἱκανοὶ added by Reiske.
[5] δὴ Emperius: δεῖ M, δὲ UB.

THE TWENTY SIXTH DISCOURSE

Then a person who has had no competent education and no knowledge whatever about a thing is not competent to deliberate about it rightly. Therefore it is necessary to give the greatest attention to prudence and education,[1] in order that it may be easy for us to deliberate about all things whatsoever and to know what is going to suit each deliberation and not to make serious mistakes; but just as musicians, geometricians, and ship captains consider with professional skill their own particular work, and as all persons who possess skill in any matter are also competent to understand their work, in like manner let us also be competent to deliberate and speak about our own business. For it is absurd that while those playing at odd and even show intelligence, and that too when they are guessing and do not see the thing about which they make a guess, yet those who are deliberating about public matters should display neither intelligence, nor knowledge, nor experience, although these matters are some of the greatest importance, such as concord and friendship of families and states, peace and war, colonization and the organization of colonies, the treatment of children and of wives.[2]

[1] *Sisyphus* 390 b.

[2] Hermeias in *Mnem.* XXXVII p. 221 argues plausibly that the conclusion of this Discourse is missing.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE. A SHORT TALK ON WHAT TAKES PLACE AT A SYMPOSIUM

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Οἱ ἄνθρωποι γίγνονται καταφανεῖς ἑκάστοτε ἔχοντες διανοίας· ἕκαστος δὲ ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, πλὴν ὅτι ποικιλώτερον τὸ [1] τῶν πανηγύρεων καὶ χρόνου πλείονος.

Ἐπὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὰ συμπόσια ὅπου οἱ μὲν τινες ἀφικνοῦνται τοῦ πίνειν ἕνεκεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράττουσιν ἢ ὥσπερ οἱ βιαιότατοι τῶν ὁδοιπόρων, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθωσιν ἐπί κρήνην τινά, πίνουσιν ἐπικυψάντες· ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐμπλησθέντες καὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀποβεβεσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἀπαλλάττονται, οὔτε πράξαντες [2] οὔτε εἰπόντες ἄτοπον οὐδέν [3]· οἱ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ ἐνίοτε καὶ λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσιν· 1 οὐ γὰρ ἡμῶν ὑποδεχόμεθα τοὺς δεομένους αὐτῶν αἱ τε Νύμφαι καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος· ἀλλὰ ὅτε διθύραμβος

[1] τὸ Emperius vd. [2] πράξαντες Emperius πραξάντες.
[3] edible added by Arnim

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[1] The panegyris was an assembly of the people of a particular district, province, tribe, nation, or town, at a common sanctuary. In addition, there were sacrifices and festivals, games, chariot races, political assemblies and resolutions, buying and selling, etc. For further details see § 5 of the Discourse, and Discourses eight and nine. In many respects it resembled a modern fair. As illustrations we think first of the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games.

[2] The symposium, a drinking together, was the name given the entertainment which followed a dinner or inner party. In it the pleasure of drinking wine was heightened by agreeable conversation, music, dancing, games, philosophical discussion, etc.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SHORT TALK ON WHAT TAKES PLACE AT A SYMPOSIUM

THE qualities of mind and character of individual men stand revealed at our national festivals[1] no less than at symposia,[2] except that at festivals the revelation is more varied and extends over a longer period of time.[3]

As to symposia, we may assume that some persons attend for the sake of drinking and devote themselves to that, just as thirsty wayfarers when they come to a spring stoop down and drink. Yet these persons, when they have drunk their fill and quenched their thirst, quietly go their way without having done or said anything indecorous, but the others, on the contrary, both say and do many disagreeable things as soon as [illegible] Dionysus does not welcome the revelers who feed him with the same sort of welcome as the Nymphs do theirs,[4] but since he is of a frenzied nature

[1] For the same thought of Discourses I 6, 20 22 22 23; 22 24.

[2] In these words the effects of wine and of water upon those who partake of them are quite different.

[3] [illegible] the god of wine was a son of Zeus, the god of thunder and lightning. When Zeus appeared in that [illegible] by the lightning, but her child was saved. The [illegible] gatherers [illegible] were [illegible] to various kinds of plants. Dio is here [illegible] of those who be[illegible] who were [illegible] Dio [illegible] 12 30 [illegible] drinkable rule of [illegible]

ὢν ὁ Διόνυσος καὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ καὶ βροντῆς γενόμενος, ὥς φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, τοὺς ἀμαθεστάτους χρωμένους ἀτεχνῶς πυρὸς πιμπλῶσι καὶ τῷ ὄντι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐμβροντήτους ἐποίησεν· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν σχεδόν τι μαινόμενοι πολλὰ κακὰ δρῶσιν, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος φησὶ τὸν Κένταυρον μεθυσθέντα ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πειρίθου οἰκίᾳ κακὰ ἐργασασθαι· καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ κεδασθῆναι οἶον ἀκρατοῦς τινας λαβόμενοι τῶν σωμάτων ἀνοσιήτους καὶ μακρὰς διατείνεται λόγους· οἱ δὲ ἀδόξοι καὶ ἀπόρεοι, σάλοφρα ἄρμενοι ὄντες, καὶ ἔχοντά τι μᾶλλον λυποῦσι τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ λοιδορεῖν τὸν ἕτερον· οἱ δὲ σώφρονες εἶναι λέγοντες ἀποκαίουσιν ἄνδια, μήτε ποτοῦ τὸ μέτριον μήτε λαλιᾶς κοινωνεῖν ἀξιοῦντες· ὃς δ' ἂν ἥ, πρᾶος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἱκανῶς ἡρμοσμένος, τῶν τε ἄλλων ῥᾳδίως ὑπομένει τὴν διαλεκτικὴν καὶ αὐτὸς εὐσχημονεῖ ὡς οἷόν τε τὸν ἀμαθῆ χορὸν εἰς τὸ δεῖν κινθιστὰς ῥυθμῷ τε καὶ μέλει τοῦ προσήκοντος· τοὺς τε οἰκείους λόγους εἰσφέρων καὶ δεξιότητι καὶ πειθοῖ προπαγόμενος τοὺς παρόντας, ὥστε ἐμμελέστερον καὶ φιλικώτερον ξυνεῖναι ἀλλήλοις.

Ἃ μὲν δὴ τῶν συμποσίων τοιαῦτα· ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς παιγνιάς, οἱ μὲν ἱστορίας

[1] μέτρον Geel: μετρον. [2] εὐσχημονεῖ added by Reiske. [3] τὸν added by Cohoon.

[1] See Homer, *Odyssey* 21.295–298 and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12.219. Let us, as reader, [illegible] the Lapithae in Thessaly, invited the Centaurs to his wedding feast, which one of them, named Eurytion, [illegible] according to Ovid, because [illegible] with wine and attempted the bride Hippodamia. Πειρίθοος shortened to Πειρίθοα, gen. Πειρίθου.

and the child of lightning and thunder as the poets say he [illegible] those who use him as the [illegible] and actually makes the majority of them thunderstruck or stupefied. Nay rather, his reliance being practically based do many evil things not so ill worth care of the Centaur that in a [illegible] be wrought out in the house of Pelion.[1] And there are those who are actually [illegible] feeling that they have got their [illegible] for an [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] have no [illegible] for music [illegible] actually say that they give more attention to the [illegible] who [illegible] and use abusive [illegible] that there is another class of men who claim to be [illegible] and [illegible], that have [illegible] to deal by their [illegible] manner.[2] [illegible] was not condescend either to drink moderately or to take part in the general conversation. But the man that is genuine and has a properly ordered character easily endures the rudeness of the [illegible] and acts as a gentleman himself trying to the best of his ability to bring the ignorant chorus into a proper demeanour by means of fitting rhythm and melody. And he introduces appropriate topics of conversation and by his act and persuasion attempts to get those present to be more [illegible] and friendly in their intercourse with one another.

So much for symposia. But people also attend the national festivals, some just to see the sights

[1] See Theognis 14. 4 for the same expression.

[2] See Demosthenes 21. 183 for the same expression.

ἕνεκεν τῶν τε ἄλλων θεαμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ τούτων ὅσοι σφόδρα ἐσπουδακότες περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, διατελοῦσιν οὐθὲν ἄλλο πράττοντες ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ· πολλοὶ δὲ ὧνια κομίζοντες παντοδαπά, ἀγοραίοις ὄχλοις, οἱ δέ τινες ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι
6 τέχνας καὶ δημιουργίας, ἄλλοι δὲ σοφίαν τινὰ αὐτῶν[1] ἐκφαίνοντες, πολλοὶ μὲν ποιήματα ἐπιδεικνύντες τραγῳδίας τε καὶ ἔπη, πολλοὶ δὲ καταλογάδην συγγράμματα, τὸν σχολῆς ἕνεκεν ἥκοντα καὶ ῥᾳθυμεῖν βουλόμενον εὐσχολοῦντες· οὕτω δὲ μαλακὰ ἐοίκασι τοῖς μανθάνουσι καὶ ἥδουσιν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, ὧν οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκούειν ἔστι, κἂν μὴ θέλῃ τις.

Ἐν τούτοις ὁ δυνάμενος λόγους εἰπεῖν ὠφελίμους καὶ συμφέροντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύνοδον εὐσχημονεστέραν καὶ ἀμείνω παρασχεῖν, οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχίαν ἄγει καὶ τρέπεται καθ' αὑτόν·
7 Πεποίθασι γὰρ δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγους ὅπερ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν φάρμακα· οὔτε γὰρ τις ἐκείνοις εὐθὺς προσεισιν οὐδὲ ὠνεῖται πρὶν ἢ περιπεσεῖν φανερῷ νοσήματι καὶ ἀλγῆσαί τι τοῦ σώματος· οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀκούειν ἐθέλουσιν ὡς τὸ πολύ, ὅτῳ ἂν μὴ λυπηρόν τι ξυνενεχθῇ καὶ τῶν
8 δοκούντων χαλεπῶν αὐτίκα τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα, ὅποιαν τινὰ φασὶν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν, οἷον χρήματα εὐδαιμονίζοντα[2] πολλὰ ἢ χώραν ἱκανὴν κεκτημένον καὶ αὐτὸν ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ τέκνων σωζομένων καὶ γυναικός, καὶ τινα δύναμιν καὶ

[1] αὐτῶν Dindorf : αὐτῶν.
[2] εὐδαιμονίζοντα Goal : ἐν δαιμόνιον τὰ.

and the athletic contests in particular, and all those who take a very great interest in these exercises doing nothing else from early dawn. Many too bring in merchandise of all sorts: the tradespeople, that is, and some display their own arts and crafts, while others show off their accomplishments; many of them declaiming poems, both tragedies and epics, and many others prose works, so that they annoy the man who has come for a rest and wishes to have a holiday. And these people seem very much like those who hum tunes and sing songs at the symposia, whom you cannot help hearing even if you do not wish it.

But the man who in the midst of these folk has the ability to speak words edifying and profitable and thus make the whole gathering more decorous and better, because of the general disturbance and the great throng of those of the other sort, keeps quiet and withdraws into himself.

For really most men feel towards the words of philosophy exactly as they do, I believe, toward the drugs which physicians administer; that is, no one resorts to them at first, nor buys them until he contracts some unmistakable illness and has pain in some part of his body. And in the same way people are, as a general rule, not willing to listen to the words of the philosopher until some affliction visits them, something which men consider grievous. To give an illustration: the prosperous man—I use the term in the sense in which the majority use it—for instance, a man who derives a large income from his loans, or has a good deal of land, and not only enjoys good health, but has children and a wife living, or a man who has some position of

ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα μεγάλην ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ στάσεως
καὶ τινων φαινομένων κινδύνων, οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις
ῥᾴδιως προσιόντα τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐδὲ ἀξιοῦντα
5 κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγων· εἰ δὲ
τῷ ξενιζόμενῳ τι πεσοῦμαι κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ
ἄπορος πάνυ ἐκ πλουσίου γένοιτο ἢ ἰσθμοῖ καὶ
ἀδύνατος ἐκ δυναμένου ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὰ ἔχων λύπην,
οἱ δὲ πανοῦργοι πάνυ δεινοὶ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα
καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὑπομένοντες τὴν τῶν φίλων φω-
λεύοντας καὶ πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦσι πεπραμένοι· κἂν
ἀνόλεθρος τύχῃ τινὸς τῶν οἰκείων, ἢ γυναῖκα
ἢ παῖδα ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἀξιοῦσιν ἐφικνεῖσθαι τῶν
φιλοσόφων καὶ παραμυθεῖν, ὡς τοτὲ δεῖν σκοπεῖν
ὅπως μετρίως φέρῃ τις τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ διηνεκῶς
10 ἀντέχειν τοῖς λοιποῖς, πρώτοις δὲ οἷ ὥσπερ καὶ
περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔχουσι σχεδὸν ὡ ἀκμῆτοι
τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς μέλει ὅπως
δυνήσονται ὑγιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ σιτίοις τε καὶ οἴνῳ
καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ ὡς οἷόν τε
ἀπολαύσεως καὶ αὐτοῖς χρώνται, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα
τις καταλαμβάνῃ κόπος καὶ πυρετός περὶ τὰς
τοῦ καιροῦ μεταβολάς, καὶ θεραπεύειν ὀφᾶς
κελεύουσι μέσοι ὄντες ἀπείρου πολλοὶ καὶ
νοσημάτων ἰσχύρων, οἷον εἴκοσι τοὺς τοιούτους
καταλαμβάνειν, ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἰατροῦ δεήσουσι,
τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ σκοποῦσιν

[1] καὶ added by Dindorf. [2] καὶ Emperius: καὶ MSS.
[3] [illegible] MSS. [illegible] M. [illegible] UB.
[4] [illegible] F. [illegible]
[5] The words [illegible] moved here by Casaubon from [illegible] after [illegible] MSS.
[6] ἢ added by [illegible]. [7] [illegible] added by Reiske.
[8] Emperius deleted καὶ.

authority and a high office without war or rebellion, or any open danger, with a person who would not easily find approaching these [illegible] or caring to listen to the teachings of philosophy. But if some disaster should overtake any one [illegible] has overthrown and he [illegible] becomes either poor after having been wealthy, or weak and powerless after having been influential, or [illegible] with some other misfortune, then he becomes much more fond of [illegible] and that craft somehow manages to [illegible] the words of the philosophers, and practically admits that he [illegible] comfort. And if it is our duty to lose any of [illegible] either his wife, or a child, or a brother, we see the philosopher come and speak words of comfort, as if he thought it were [illegible] to consider how one may endure what has happened and be able to face the future, believe that he does not. It is much the same as the fear of great pirates in regard to our bodies; ordinarily they have no concern whatever about their health, but enjoy foods, wine, and women and [illegible] other things as intemperately and unconcernedly as possible; but if any weariness or fever does unexpectedly seize them, owing to the changes in the weather, then they need [illegible] and be treated, since their health is greatly disordered and they are suffering from severe illnesses, such as you expect would attack people of this sort. But how to avoid having any need of a physician is a problem which they do not consider at all.[1]

[1] In Discourses 3.9.8 Dio says that physicians have the advantage in being consulted more rarely than philosophers are.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS III

[illegible] Through the others various reflections to comfort him

[illegible] from a study of this Discourse and the following one, which is the funeral oration for [illegible]

[illegible] Some of the volumes which contain all of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the following one

Ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος εὐθὺς ἐβαδίζομεν, ὑψούμενοι τοὺς ἀθλητάς, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἄλην ἐπιδημίαν πεποιημένοι κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἦμεν, τοὺς μὲν τινας ἑωρῶμεν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ ἔξω τρέχοντας, καὶ κρεῖττον τῶν παρακελευομένων ἦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως γυμναζομένους τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐδόκει προσέχειν· ὅπου δὲ
2 πλεῖστον ὄχλον ἴδοιμεν, ἐκεῖ ἐβαδίζομεν· ὁρῶμεν οὖν πάνυ πολλοὺς ἑστηκότας πρὸς τῇ ἕδρᾳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἑτέρους ἀεὶ προσάγοντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπιόντας διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν· τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπειρώμεθα ὁρᾶν ὑπερκύπτοντες, καὶ μάλις ἑωρῶμέν τον[1] γυμναζομένου τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατετακότος· ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐνδοτέρω ἐγενόμεθα· ἦν οὖν νεανίσκος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔτι δέ, ὡς εἰκός, μεῖζον αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλλιον ὑπὸ τῆς γυμνασίας τὸ σῶμα ἐφαίνετο, πάνυ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐγυμνάζετο καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος, ὥστε ἀγωνιζομένῳ μᾶλλον
3 ἐῴκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαύσατο γυμναζόμενος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀνεχωρεῖ, κατενοοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελέ-

[1] ἑωρᾶμέν τον Cobet: ἑωρῶμεν τοῦ.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS II

Arriva coming up from the harbour, we strolled over at once to have a look at the athletes, just as if the sole purpose of our trip had been to view the contests. When we got near the gymnasium we saw a number running on the track outside of it, and there was a roar as the crowd cheered them on, and we also saw the athletes who were exercising in other ways. To those, however, we thought it hardly worth while to pay attention, but wherever we saw the biggest crowd, there we would stroll. So we noticed a great number of people standing near the Arcade of Heracles and a stream of others coming up, and some also going away because they could not see. At first we tried to see by looking over other people's shoulders, and with difficulty managed to catch a glimpse of the head of a man who was exercising with his hands up.[1] Then we gradually got in closer. He was a very tall and beautiful young man, and besides, the exercises he was taking made his body seem, quite naturally, still taller and more beautiful. He was giving a most brilliant performance, and in so spirited a way that he seemed more like a man in an actual contest. Then, when he stopped exercising and the crowd began to draw away, we studied him more

[1] He was shadow-boxing.

στερον. ἦν δὲ ὅμοιος τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσι τοῖς ἀκριβῶς εἰργασμένοις· εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὸ χρῶμα ὅμοιον χαλκῷ κεκραμένῳ.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπηλλάγη, τῶν παρόντων τινὰ ἠρόμεθα πρεσβύτην ὅστις εἴη· καὶ ὃς σκυθρωπάσας·

Οὗτος μέντοι Ἰατροκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Μελαγκόμα ἀνταγωνιστὴς καὶ μόνος ἐκείνῳ συνὰξιῶν παραχωρεῖν, τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ οὐδὲν μέντοι πλέον ἐποιει· ἡττᾶτο γὰρ ἀεί, ἐνίοτε δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγωνισάμενος· ἤδη μέντοι ἀπειρήκει, ὥστε τὸν τελευταῖον τοῦτον ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νεαπόλει οὐδένα ταχύτερον τούτου ἐνίκησεν. ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁρᾶτε ὅσον φρονεῖ καὶ ἐν ὅσῳ πλήθει γυμνάζεται· αἷμα δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐπιχαιρειν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ· καὶ εἰκὸς μέντοι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῦτον τὸν στέφανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐπισταται αὐτοῦ ὄντας.

5 Ἦ γάρ, ἔφην, τέθνηκεν ὁ Μελαγκόμας, ἐπεὶ τό γε δίνομα καὶ ἡμεῖς ᾔδεμεν, αὐτὸν οὐδεπώποτε ἰδόντες.

Οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γε, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τρίτη που ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ταφῆς.

Τωι δέ, εἶπον, τούτου διέφερε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δέ, πότερον μεγέθει ἢ εὐψυχία.

Ἐκεῖνος, ἔφη, ὦ βέλτιστε, πάντων ἀνθρώπων, οὐχὶ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν μόνον, εὐψυχότατος καὶ μεγιστος ἔφυ, ἔτι δὲ κάλλιστος· καὶ εἴ γε ἐθώρης ἔμεινε καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ἔπραξε, δι' αὐτό που τό κάλλος περιβοητος ἂν ἦν· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν

[1] Cf. Discourse 12. 2. Dio refers to Sicyonian blending of copper and tin which produced rich brown.

[2] The prize for boxing at the games then being held.

closely. He was just like one of the most carefully wrought statues, and also he had a colour like well blended bronze.[2]

After he had gone, we asked one of the bystanders, an old man, who he was, and the man said with a frown:

"Why that is Iatrocles, the opponent of Melancomas, the only man who would not give in to him, at least, that is, if he could help it. Still he could not get the better of him, for he was always defeated, sometimes after competing for a whole day. However, Iatrocles had already given up trying, so that in the last contest here in Nysa Melancomas defeated no opponent more quickly than he did Iatrocles. But you see how confident he is now, and how large a crowd he has about him as he takes his exercise. For my part, I really believe that he feels a malicious joy at the other man's misfortune, and naturally enough, for he knows that not only the next crown[3] but all others are now his own."

"What!" I exclaimed, "Is Melancomas dead?" for even we knew his name at least, although we had never seen the man himself.

"Yes," he replied, "he died not long ago. I believe this is the second day since he was buried."

"And in what respect," I asked, "was he superior to this man and to the others also? Was it in size, or in courage?"

"That man, sir," he replied, "was more courageous and bigger than any other man in the world, not merely than any of his opponents, and furthermore, he was the most beautiful. And if he had remained an amateur and had not gone in for boxing at all, I believe that he would have become widely known

ἐπέστρεφεν ἅπαντας, ἀπότε ἀπίοι που, καὶ τοὺς
6 οὐκ εἰδότας ὅστις ἐστίν. καίτοι οὔτε ἐσθῆτι
ἐκόσμει ἑαυτὸν οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῷ γεγνώσκεσθαι
μᾶλλον ἐπετήδευεν ἢ λανθάνειν· ἀποδυσαμένου
δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἄλλον ἐθεᾶτο, πολλῶν μὲν
παίδων, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν γυμναζομένων· εἰωθότος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους εἰς τρυφὴν ἄγειν καὶ τοὺς
μετρίως αὐτοῦ μετειληφότας, τοιοῦτος ὢν τὸ
εἶδος ἔτι σωφρονέστερος ἦν· καὶ καταφρονῶν
δὲ τοῦ κάλλους οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐφύλαττεν αὐτὸ ἐν
7 οὔτω χαλεπῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι. πυγμὴν γοῦν ἀγωνιζόμενος οὕτως ὑγιὴς ἦν ὥσπερ τῶν δρομέων
τις, οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα γεγύμνωτο καὶ τοσοῦτο
περιῆν τοῖς πόνοις, ὥστε δυνατὸς ἦν καὶ δυο
ἡμέρας ἑξῆς μένειν ἀνατετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ
οὐκ ἂν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὑφέντα αὐτὸν ἢ ἀναπαυσάμενον,
ὥσπερ εἰωθασιν· πρότερον δὲ ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς
ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀπειπεῖν, οὐ μόνον πρὶν αὐτὸς
πληγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν πλῆξαι ἐκείνους· οὐ
γὰρ τὸ παίειν καὶ τιτρώσκεσθαι ἀνδρείαν ἐνόμιζεν,
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἶναι μὴ δυναμένων πονεῖν καὶ
8 ἀπηλλάχθαι βουλομένων· τὸ δὲ ἀνέχεσθαι τοῦ
χρόνου καὶ μήτε τοῦ βάρους τῶν χειρῶν ἡττᾶσθαι
μήτε τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνδεᾶ γίγνεσθαι μήτε τῷ
καύματι ἄχθεσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι γενναῖον.

[illegible] on account of his beauty. He even [illegible] he [illegible] attention whenever he went [illegible] that of people who did not know who he was. And yet he did not dress up in fine clothes or in any other way try to set off his [illegible] this to remain the [illegible] he was [illegible] would [illegible] of anyone else [illegible] many men were training.[1] And [illegible] to [illegible] such [illegible] who [illegible] with [illegible] for his [illegible] and moderation, and though [illegible] he [illegible] this [illegible] presented it [illegible] of his [illegible] [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] and he [illegible] [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] with his hands up [illegible] could [illegible] hold [illegible] down or [illegible] a rest [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Then he used to have [illegible] to give up [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a hand but even before he had [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] he did not [illegible] to strive his opponent or to [illegible] [illegible] but thought [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] and a desire to have done with the contest.[2] [illegible] the time without [illegible] Above all by the weight of his arms or by [illegible] out of breath or by [illegible] by the heat—that he thought, was a special achievement.

[1] Cf. Discourses 28 3 ff.

[2] [illegible] Discourses 25 6 ff and Thucydides [illegible] 36 Thucydides got this information from his

Ὀρθῶς μέντοι, ἔφην ὑπολαμβάνων· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οἱ φαυλότατοι τὰ ὅπλα ῥίπτουσιν, εὖ[1] εἰδότες ὅτι γυμνοὶ μᾶλλον ἂν τιτρώσκοιντο· οὕτω μᾶλλον ἡττῶνται τοῦ κόπου ἢ τῶν τραυμάτων.

9 Τοιγάρτοι, εἶπεν, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἤρξατο ἀγωνίζεσθαι Πυθοῖ, πρῶτος μὲν ὢν ἴσμεν ἄλειπτος[2] διεγένετο, πλείστους καὶ μεγίστους στεφανοῦς ἀνελόμενος καὶ ἀνταγωνιστὰς οὔτε φαύλους οὔτε ὀλίγους χρησάμενος· καὶ τον πατριν, ἐνδοξότατον[3] ὄντα, τον Μελαγκόμαν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Καρίας, ἄλλους τε ἀγῶνας καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι νικήσαντα, οὐδέπω ἀνὴρ ὢν ὑπερέβαλετο· οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἄλειπτος τοιοῦτος μέντοι ὢν ἀθλίως
10 ἐτελεύτησε, τῶν μὲν πόνων τῆς ἀθλήσεως ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλθών, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τερπνῶν οὐδενὸς πειραθείς. οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα φιλότιμος ὑπῆρχεν ὥστε καὶ ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν Ἀθηναδάρου τοῦ παγκρατιαστοῦ, φίλου ὄντος ἀπὸ παιδός, ἐπυνθάνετο πόσαι τινὲς εἶεν ἡμέραι λοιπαὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος· καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ἐδάκρυεν ὁ πρεσβύτης.

11 Ἀλλά σοί μέν, ἔφην, συγγνώμη ὑπερλυπουμένῳ διὰ τὸ πάντως προσήκειν τί σοι αὐτοῦ.

Μὰ τοὺς θεούς, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἔμοιγε· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ γένους μοι ἦν οὔτε ἐγυμναζον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν παίδων τινὰ τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν. ὁ δὲ

[1] εὖ Jacobs: οὐκ.
[2] ἴσμεν ἄλειπτος Casaubon: ἴσμεν ... πτος UB (Room for four letters in lacuna), οὐ μελαγκόμας M.
[3] ἐνδοξότατον Reiske: ἐνδοξότερον.

[1] Cf. Discourse 8. 15 and 19. 13.
[2] Cf. Discourse 29. 11.
[3] That is, in his youth.

"He had the right idea though," said I, breaking in. "Even war too the worst to drive them away their shields thought they know well enough that when unprotected they are more apt to be wounded. Dear, we see they are [illegible] more by their exhaustion than by their wounds."

"That is just he reason," he rejoined, "why from the time Menecrates began to compete in the Pythian games he was the first man to our knowledge who remained undefeated after winning the first and the greatest crowns and facing antagonists who were [illegible] no few in number. And his own father, a very famous man, the well-known Menecrates who came from Caria and after [illegible] other victories won at Olympia, he [illegible] a pancratist[1] [illegible] even [illegible] defeated. It is [illegible] however, [illegible] as the young athlete was he came to a wretched end after enduring the arduous work of athletics to the utermost without experiencing any of the joys of life. And he was by nature so exceedingly ambitious that even on his deathbed he [illegible] of Athenodorus, the pancratiast,[1] who had been his friend from boyhood, not how many days of the athletic meet were left. And as he said this the old man [illegible] tears.

"Ah," said I, "it is pardonable in you to grieve so excessively. He must certainly be related to you in some way."

"In heaven's name no," he answered, "no relation of mine. For he was neither a blood kinsman of mine, nor was he trained by me, no I trained one of the boys among the pancratiasts. As for him, he was

[1] A youth who competed in both wrestling and boxing.

ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτος ἦν ὥστε πάντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ λυπεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπιταμένους ἐκείνου.

13 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην, ἆθλον δεῖ καλεῖν αὐτόν· τοιούτων γὰρ εὐδαιμονέστατος ἂν εἴη καὶ μακαριώτατος, εἴπερ οἷος λέγεται ἦν· ᾧ καὶ γένους ὑπῆρξε λαμπροῦ τυχεῖν καὶ κάλλους, ἔτι δὲ ἀνδρείας καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστι· τό γε μὴν θαυμαστότατον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπίστου γενέσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόνου καὶ καύματος καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ ἀφροδισίων· δεῖ γὰρ πρώτον τούτοις ἀπίστου εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα ὑπὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων

14 λειφθήσεσθαι[1]· ἡδονὰς δέ τις μείζονας ἡσθεὶς, ὅστις[2] φιλοτιμότατος ὢν ἀεὶ δίκαιος καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἡσθάνετο, καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἀγαπῆσαι οἱ θεοὶ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ τελευτῇ τιμῆσαι, ὡς ἂν μηδενὸς πειραθεὶς τῶν χαλεπῶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦν προβαίνοντι ἄντι μὲν καλλίστου αἰσχρότερῳ γιγνέσθαι, ἄντι δὲ ἰσχυροτάτου ἀσθενεστέρῳ, ἴσως δὲ καὶ λειφθῆναί που· ὅστις δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς συναπέρχεται τὰ ἄριστα πράξας, οὗτος εὐδαιμονέστατα τελευτᾷ· εὕροι δ' ἄν τις καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ὠνόμουν.

[1] λειφθήσεσθαι Cassabon: λειφθήσεσθαι.
[2] ἡδὺς ὅστις Emperius: ἡ ἡδὺ ὅστις.

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[1] Cf. what Herodotus (1. 31 ff.) says about the two young men Cleobis and Biton, who in their lives and deaths were much like Melancomas.

[2] Cf. Xenophon, *Apology of Socrates* 6 and *Memorabilia* 4. 8. 8.

[3] Cf. Menander as reported by Plutarch in *Consolation to Apollonius* 119 a, Frag. 125 (Kock): He whom the gods love

such a upright fellow that all who knew him felt grief at his death.

Then I said I [illegible] you have no reason for calling him wretched, [illegible] the [illegible] he was the sort of man [illegible] him. It was his good fortune to come of an [illegible] family, to possess [illegible] and to [illegible] [illegible] that he [illegible] the greatest happiness [illegible] that was [illegible] thing about a man [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Τίνας, ἔφη, τούτους λέγεις;

14 Τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, εἶπον, καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Ἕκτορα καὶ Μέμνονα καὶ Σαρπηδόνα. ἔτι δὲ ἄλλους ἀνομάζοντος ἐμοῦ.

Ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, καλῶς εἶπας εἰς παραμυθίαν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἔγωγε ἐβουλόμην σου ἔτι ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὥρα γυμνάζειν τὸν παῖδα, καὶ ἀπέρχομαι.

"Whom do you mean?" he asked.

"Achilles," I replied, "and Patroclus and Hector and Memnon and Sarpedon,"[1] and as I was going on to name still others, he exclaimed

"What you have said is well suited to comfort those who are in mourning, and I wish that I could listen to you longer; but really it is high time for me to be at the training of the boy, and I am off."

[1] See Discourse 29. 20 for a somewhat longer list. Sarpedon, a Lycian prince and ally of the Trojans, who was slain by Patroclus. Not to be confused with his grandfather of the same name, who lived for three generations.

position II."

29 ΜΕΛΑΓΚΟΜΑΣ Α ΤΗΙ ΤΑΞΕΙ Β

Ἀλλ' ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδ' ὅ τι εἴπω ἔπεισιν ὑπὸ λύπης ἅμα καὶ ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πάθους· οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν ἔχω μᾶλλον ἑτέρου μοι τῶν πολιτῶν οἰκεῖον τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴδια μοι φίλος ἦν Μελάγκομας ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐπίστανται οἱ πλείους· καὶ ἔμοιγε ἄτοπον φαίνεται τὸ[1] ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἔθος, ὅτι τοῖς πλείστοις[2] λυπουμένοις μάλιστα προσήκειν δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγειν. οἱ γὰρ σφοδρότατα ἀνιώμενοι ἀδύνατοι λέγειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου εἰσίν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τούτῳ εἰμί, ἐν ᾧ ἡ μὲν τοῦ λόγου δύναμις ἥττων ἅπασιν ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι ἰσχυρότατον γίγνεται· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τιμιώτερος μὲν στρατηγοῦ ἔπαινος ἐπὶ στρατιώτῃ ἀγαθῷ τελευτήσαντι, τιμιώτερος δὲ παντὸς ἄρχοντος ἢ ἰδιώτου, κἀμοὶ λακτέον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκεν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι. πρέποι δ' ἂν τῇ ἐκείνου ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ νεότητι μηδὲν μακρὸν ἀπαιτεῖν μηδὲ ἀκριβῆ μᾶλλον ἢ γενναῖον τὸν ἔπαινον.

[1] φαίνεται τὸ Emperius φαίνεσθαι M, φαίνεσθαι τὸ UB.
[2] πλείστοις Emperius πλείστοις.

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[1] Cf. note on the title of Melancomas II.
[2] Cf. Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 137 χαίρειν τι καὶ κτείνεσθαι.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS I[1]

Athenians! I cannot think of anything at all to say, so great is my grief [illegible] and my consternation at this sudden bereavement, for not only on account of the office which I held has it been more [illegible] to me than to any other citizen, but Melancomas was to me a person a friend of a time beyond all others, as most of you know. And to me at least it seems an almost [illegible] that those most deeply affected should be thought the most fitting persons to speak at their obsequies, since those who are most grief-stricken are for that very reason incapable of speech. Moreover, I am at the time of life when all men feel most, when their ability to speak is always [illegible] that it was yet the emotions of both joy and sorrow[2] are greatest in intensity. Since, however, a eulogy spoken by a general over a great soldier who has passed away does him a greater honour and is [illegible] a greater honour than one spoken by a private citizen, so it devolves upon me also, in view of the office I held, to speak to the best of my ability. And it would be in keeping with the merit of the deceased and my own youth to demand of me no lengthy or studied eulogy, but praise that comes from the heart.

Πρώτον μεν οὖν εὐγενείας ἀληθοῦς ἔτυχον· οὐ γὰρ εἰ τοῦ πλουσίου σπονδὴ τυχεῖν προσήκει, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ βασιλέως· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα φαίλω
3 ἴδοι ἂν εἴη καλῶς γεγονώς, ἀλλ' οἱ φύσει εἰς ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ ἔδει· ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν διήνεγκε τὴν πολλίστοις, εὐφυΐᾳ καὶ βουλῇ· ἐλιόδοι δὲ οἱ νέοι ἐς ἔτερον καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνόμιζον.

Ἔστι δὲ ἐφ' πολλίστοις ἀθρόοις, οὐ τῶν νῦν μόνον, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς καὶ ἀπιστίας ἄλλοις τοῦ ἐξ ἀπίστου τοῦ χρόνου ἀνομασμένων ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔφη θεῖναι ἐγκωμίοις
4 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καλῶν μόρφ τινὶ τοῦ σώματος εὐπρεπεῖς ἔχοντες, ἔπειτα δὲ θηλῶν καλοί, τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τὴν ἡδίστα βουλόμενοι ὁρᾶν, τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἀμελοῦντες· οἱ δὲ τινες φύσει μὲν εὐειδοῦς σώματος οὐκ ἔτυχον, ὥρα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπέλθοι[1] ἡττωμένοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες καλοὶ αὐτὴν ἀνόμασαν, ἀνθούσης αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐν ἥβαις καὶ ζώσης
5 καὶ φύσεως· τοιούτους μὲν οὖν μυρίους ἂν εὕροι τις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὅτι μὲν καλοὺς δοκοῦντας ὅτι δὲ αἰσχρούς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σφόδρα ἀρεσκόντας, παρ' ἑτέρους δὲ οὐδένος λόγου τυγχάνοντας· ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ ἀληθῆ τὰ καλὰ θαυμάσιον εἰ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὥσπερ τιμᾶν· ἐν ἅπασι μὲν γὰρ

[1] Πρὸς ἐνιόντων Κοδίκος γραφεῖσα ἐνόμιζον.

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[1] Cf. Dio, Discourse 15. 20.
[2] Cf. Discourse 28. 9 ff.

In the first place he had the good fortune to be truly well-born. For it is not because he chanced to have forebears who were rich, may not even if they were kings but in other respects were quite without merit—that this man was well-born. That term applies to those who have come from good parentage as his was, full. For his father's and his ancestors' among all men of his time for those famous gifts—nobility of soul and bodily strength. This is proved by his achievements. That he was, both at Olympia and [illegible] games.

Thus he was blessed by nature with the most beautiful of men, not only of those of the present day but, as one may infer from his surpassing beauty, of almost all those of antiquity who were held to be renowned for beauty, and those of them who were born men. But the majority of those who have been regarded as beautiful because they did possess something in certain parts of their body, after wards have got the reputation of being beautiful, since the envious wishes to detract from the most pleasing things in the regard of what is inferior. And yet not [illegible] those were not favoured by nature with a beautiful body but a [illegible] power had arrived for them, so that those who met them, remembering therefrom, called it beauty, since the [illegible] days of [illegible] gave to a woman and plants [illegible]. Thousands of persons of this sort can be found who at one time seem beautiful, and at another time ugly, and though they please some exceedingly, with others they get no notice at all. But when it is a question of perfect and true beauty, it would be surprising if anyone ever perceived it as the man did. For he had it in his whole body and aware

τῷ σώματι ἐκέκτητο αὐτά, καὶ δὲ ὁμοίως, καὶ πρὸ ἡβῆς καὶ ὕστερον· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου προῆλθεν· οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ μακροῦ γήρως ἔτυχεν, ὥστε ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸ εἶδος.

6 Τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδιώταις ἐξετάζοιμεν· διέφερεν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἄλλων θεωρούμενος ὑπὸ τούτων ἐθαυμάζετο, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀεὶ δι' ἐν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν καλλίστων, ἅμα τοῖς ἀθλητοῖς ὤν· οἱ γὰρ μεγάλοι καὶ εἰδεσπάτοι καὶ πλουσίοις ἐπιμελοῦνται τῶν σωμάτων τυγχάνοντες οἷοι εἰσίν· διαμένει δὲ μέχρι οὗ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· οὔτε γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἐνοίκων τινὰ ἔθνος οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ μὴ ἐφικνεῖται· καὶ πάντες πάσιν ὁμοίως τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε δόξαν, ὡς οὐδένα ἴδοιεν καλλίονα· ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ πλουσίων μὲν θαυμασθείς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καλλίστοις μόνοις ἔχων τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κάλλους φήμην δῆλον ὡς θείας τινὸς μορφῆς ἔτυχεν.

7 Ἔγω οὖν πρῶτον εὐδαιμονίζω τοῦ κάλλους αὐτόν· ὁ δὴ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ἀριστότατον, καὶ ἥδιστον μὲν θεοῖς, ἥδιστον δὲ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλυσιτελέστατον δὲ τῷ ἔχοντι καὶ ἐπιγνωσθῆναι μὴ σπουδαίῳ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ κοῦφα λύει τὴν προσοῦσαν, καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη[3] καὶ φρόνησις, εἰ μὴ τύχοι ἔργου τινὸς ἀποδεικνυντος· τὸ δὲ κάλλος οὐχ οἷόν τε λανθάνειν· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ἔχοντι φαίνεται· εἴποι δ' ἄν τις ὅτι καὶ πρότερον οὕτως[4]

[1] ἐκείνῳ Χ m: ἐκείνῳ V B: ἐκείνῳ M.
[2] καὶ σωφροσύνη added by Dindorf
[4] οὕτως V: ὧδε ἔφασαν

[1] For the same thought see Xenophon, Symposium 4. 17 and for the opposite thought Discourse 28. 12.

to the same degree both before he reached years of manhood and afterward, and we would never have [illegible] even if he had reached an extreme old age [illegible]!

And here man [illegible] surpassing beauty of his beauty [illegible] at the [illegible] moment in any company of [illegible] or was admired [illegible] few women [illegible] no [illegible], but that he was [illegible] in a company of those who are [illegible] most in fashion in the world [illegible] among whom he moved. For the [illegible] and most comely men whose [illegible] are those. And he was [illegible] by practice [illegible] for there was no city of [illegible] which he did not visit, and [illegible] the same [illegible] from [illegible] to one [illegible]. And since he was admired by the greatest numbers, and [illegible] the most beautiful men he [illegible] possessed the fame of [illegible] beauty, it is evident that he was blest with what we may term a form truly divine.

I therefore in the first place felicitate him for his beauty, a thing which certainly is the most conspicuous of the blessings that are [illegible] to man which, while being most [illegible] grids and most pleasing to men, is yet fraught with [illegible] and is [illegible] to recognize. For while the other blessings that a man may have might easily pass unnoticed, such as courage and temperance and wisdom, unless some deed should happen to reveal them, yet beauty cannot remain hidden, for it becomes manifest the moment its possessor appears, nay, one might say that it becomes manifest even

ἀξεῖαν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ παρέχει. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς οἱ πλεῖστοι φθονοῦσι καὶ δυσμενεῖς γίγνονται· τὸ δὲ κάλλος τοὺς αἰσθανομένους αὐτοῦ φίλους ποιεῖται καὶ οὐδένα ἐχθρὸν ἐᾷ γίγνεσθαι.

8 Εἰ δέ τίς φησι κάλλους με ποιεῖσθαι ἐγκώμια, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς αἰτιῶτο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἔπαινος ἀνδρὸς ἂν λέγοιτο, ἐπειδὰν τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ ἐπεξίωμεν. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίλογον[1] τὸ εἶναί τινα τοιοῦτον, τότε ἀποδεικνύναι χρή, ὅπου δὲ γιγνώσκεται,[2] τὴν φύσιν ἐπαινεῖν τοῦ προσόντος ἀγαθοῦ τινι· ὁ γὰρ τοῦδε ἔπαινος ἅμα ἂν εἴη καὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος αὐτό.

Μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειε Μελαγκόμαν, ὅτι μορφῇ τοιοῦτος ὢν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ διήνεγκεν. 9 δοκεῖ γὰρ ἔμοιγε τῇ ψυχῇ φιλονικῆσαι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ σπουδάσαι ὅπως ἂν διὰ ταύτην ἐνδοξότερος γένηται. γυνὸς οὖν τῶν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἔργων κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ ἐπιπονώτατον τὴν ἄθλησιν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἦλθεν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμικῶν ὅ τε καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν ἥ τε ἄσκησις ἐλαφροτέρα. φαίην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ ταύτῃ[3] ἥττονα εἶναι, μόνης γὰρ εὐψυχίας ἐπίδειξις ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἡ δὲ ἄθλησις ἅμα μὲν ἀνδρείαν, ἅμα δὲ ἰσχύν, 10 ἅμα δὲ σωφροσύνην ἐμποιεῖ· καὶ τοίνυν τῆς

[1] ἀμφίλογον Reiske: ἀναμφίλογον
[2] γιγνώσκεται Emperius: γίγνεται.
[3] ταύτῃ Wilstrand: ταύτης.

sooner, so penetrating is the impression it makes on the senses. But [illegible] most men envy all other blessings and become hostile to their possessor, but beauty makes friends of those who perceive it and shows no one to become an enemy.[1]

But I am one who says that I am a strange enconiumist of beauty and not of the man himself, his criticism is unjust. To illustrate: if it would be called a eulogy of a man if we should say that he is a man of courage. Very well then, when it is a matter of dispute as to whether a person possesses not great courage, then it is necessary to prove he does, but whether he is known to possess it, we need only to praise the nature of the good [illegible] which is admirable. For the eulogy of this will be at the same time also a eulogy of its possessor.

And what is most admirable in Melancomas is that, without his beauty of figure, he surpassed in manly courage. Indeed, it seems to me that his soul vied with his body and strove to make herself the mate of his [illegible] a greater reward. He therefore, recognizing [illegible] of all the activities conducive to courage, athletics is at once the most honorable and the most laborious chose that. Indeed for the soldier's career no opportunity existed, and the training also is less severe. And I for my part would venture to say that it is inferior also in that there is scope for courage alone in warfare, whereas athletics at one and the same time produce manliness, physical strength, and self-control.[2] Furthermore, he chose,

[1] Cf. Isocrates 21. 4 and 6. Perhaps Dio got some of these ideas in beauty from Plato's *Phaedrus* 250 b c.
The [illegible] is spelled out in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 68. 9.
[2] Cf. §§ 15 and 16.

ἀθλήσεως εἵλετο οὐ τὸ ῥᾴστον, ἀλλὰ τὸ χαλεπώτατον· πυγμὴν γὰρ ἤσκησεν. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἔργου ἐπ' ἄκρον ἐλθεῖν, μήτι γε ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι, ὥσπερ δδε.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιέναι καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐν οἷς ἐνίκησε, πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς περιττὸν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἑτέρους ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν αὐτῶν τυχόντας. ὃ δὲ μηδενὶ
11 ὑπῆρξεν, ἐπιστασθε μὲν ὁμοίως, δι' αὐτὸ μέντοι τοῦτο ῥητέον· τοῖς γὰρ μηδὲ εἰδόσιν οὐδὲ πιστεῦσαι ῥᾴδιον· ὅτι τοσούτοις ἀνταγωνισταῖς χρησάμενος καὶ οὕτως ἀγαθοῖς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἡττήθη, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀεὶ πάντας ἐνίκα. καίτοι οὔτε στρατηγὸν εὕροι τις ἂν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀήττητον οὔτε ἄριστον πολεμικόν,[1] ὃς οὐκ ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐκ μάχης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτι ταχέως ἐτελεύτησε, διὰ τοῦτο φαίη τις ἂν ἀήττητον[2] διαγενέσθαι· πολὺ γὰρ πλείστους ἄρ'[3] ἀγῶνας ἠγωνίσατο· ἐν δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ τὸ σφάλλεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε ἂν τις αὐτοῦ κατεπλάγη, τὸ μήτε παιόμενον αὐτὸν μήτε παίοντα νικᾶν· τοσοῦτο τῇ ῥώμῃ περιῆν καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι ποιεῖν
12 πολλάκις γὰρ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἠγωνίσατο ἐν τῇ σφοδροτάτῃ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ δυνάμενος θᾶττον ἂν περιγενέσθαι παίων οὐκ ἐβούλετο,

[1] πολεμικὸν Arnim πολιτικὸν M, πολίμων UB.
[2] ἀήττητον Casaubon αὐτόν
[3] ἄρ' Cobet ἂν, which Reske deleted.

not the easiest branch of athletics but the most [illegible] since he trained to boxing. Now it is difficult to reach the top even in the boxing branch, yet [illegible] to surpass others in the greatest and most difficult one, as this man did.

To give the full record, one after another, of his victories and the contests in which he won them is superfluous in the presence of you who know of them, and [illegible] since anyone could name others who [illegible] but [illegible] to the end of [illegible] though you are aware of it as well as I, yet for that very reason must be mentioned, for [illegible] who do not know of it seem [illegible] difficult to credit. I mean that, although he met so many antagonists and such good ones, he went down before none of them, but was himself always victorious. Yet you could find in all the past no general who was never defeated, no hero in war who did not actually some time or other flee from battle. For one could not say of our friend that he remained undefeated simply because he died early [illegible] after a [illegible] he went through far more contests than anyone else, and the chance of winning depends upon the attempts made and not upon the length of life. Furthermore, a person might have been amazed at this, that he won all his victories without being hit himself or hitting his opponent, so far superior was he in strength and in his power of endurance. For often he would fight throughout the whole day in the hottest season of the year, and although he could have more quickly won the contest by striking a blow, he refused to do it,

[1] Cf. Discourse III. 6.

νομίζων τὸ μὲν πληγῇ νικᾶσθαι καὶ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου[1] ἔσθ' ὅτε εἶναι τὸν βελτίστον, εἰ τύχοι· τὴν δὲ ἀληθεστάτην νίκην, ὅταν ἄτρωτον ἀναγκάσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀπειπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τινὶ τῷ σώματι ἀπειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ πληγέντι μέρει, λαμπρόν· τὸν δὲ ἐπιτιθέμενον οὐκ οἶόν τε τάχιστα νικᾶσθαι καὶ παίοντα καὶ συμπλεκόμενον αὐτὸν ἡττᾶσθαι τοῦ καιρίου καὶ τοῦ χρόνου.

13 Εἰ δέ τις οὐ ταύτῃ ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐπισκεψάσθω ὅτι ὅσοι καὶ ἑλάφοις, μέχρι μὲν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἰσχὺς παρῆν, οὔτε ἀνθρώποις οὔτε κυσὶν ἔμελεν χαριεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ ἡττηθῇ καὶ κάμῃ, τότε καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθέλει τιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνῄσκειν ἢ ποιεῖν ἔτι διωκόμενα· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν πολέμῳ, καίτοι εἰδότες ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν παίοντο φεύγοντες ἢ μένοντες, διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι πλείω χρόνον κάμνειν ἀπίασι παραδιδόντες αὑτοὺς τοῖς ὄπισθεν παίειν· οὕτω τό γε τραυμάτων κατα φρονεῖν οὐκ ἀνδρείας ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον.

14 Οἶμαι δὴ ἐν ταύτῃ πάντα εἰρῆσθαι καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ περὶ εὐψυχίας καὶ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐγκρατής τε καὶ σώφρων ἦν, οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, τοσοῦτο τῇ ῥώμῃ ὑπερέσχεν οὐδὲ εἰ φύσει ἰσχυρότατος ὑπῆρχεν· καὶ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν ἀκνήσαιμι εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ τῶν

[1] φαυλοτάτου Kosko: φαυλοτέρου

[1] Cf. Discourse 28. 7 f.

thinking that it was possible at times for the least competent boxer to overcome by a blow the very best man. If the chance for making it were offered but he held that it was the truest victory when he forced his opponent although he refused to give up, for then the man was overcome not by his [illegible] but by himself; and that for an adversary to give up because of his condition of his whole body and not [illegible] of the part [illegible] was not an act [illegible] and work on the part of the victor, who was the man who resisted in his will as much as possible by striking and [illegible] was [illegible] overcome by the blows and by the [illegible] of the [illegible].

But if anyone does not look at the matter in this light, let him reflect that bears and wages as long as they struggle [illegible] out do not come to close quarters with their foes or logs and [illegible] they give out from exhaustion [illegible] they come to close and prefer wounds and death to enduring the fatigue of pursuit any longer. It is the same with men in war, although they know well that they are more heavy to be struck when in flight than when they stand their ground, yet because they are unwilling to suffer distress through weariness any longer they return in this way exposing themselves to the blows of their enemies in the rear. Therefore contempt for wounds is not a mark of courage but of the opposite.

So I think that under one and the same head everything has been said, not only about manliness and courage, but also about self-control and about temperance. For if Menexenus had not been self-controlled and temperate, I imagine that he would not have been so superior in strength, even if nature did make him the strongest man. And I for my part

παλαιῶν ἡρώων, οὔτε ἅπαντες ὁμοῦσιν, οὐδενὸς ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἀρετῆς εἶχεν, οὔτε τῶν δὶς Ἕλληνα πολεμησάντων οὔτε τῶν ἑστίαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τοῦ βαρβάρου ἀμυναμένων· καὶ εἰ γε τοῦτο εἴρητο, ἅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἔπραξαν δι'

15 ἃ καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ἔγωγε τοῦτο τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετῆς προκρίνω· ὅτι πρώτον μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄρτι κακοῖ[1] διαφέρουσιν· ὁ γὰρ ἰσχυρότερος[2] τοῦ σώματι καὶ πλείω χρόνον πόνων δυνάμενος, οὗτος οἶμαι[3] καὶ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ καὶ σὺν ὅλῳ κρείττων ἐστίν· ἔπειτα οὐχ ὅμοιον πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀγωνιζέσθαι καὶ τὸν πάντι φαυλότερον καὶ[4] ἐξ ἀπαντος τῆς οἰκουμένης τοῖς κρατίστοις ἔχειν ἀντιπάλους· κακεῖ μὲν ἅπαξ ὁ κρατήσας τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστε μὴ αὖθις ἔχειν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀντίπαλον· ἐνθάδε δὲ ἡ νίκη περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστης ἐστίν· ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἡττωμένους ὁμοίως ὁ νικῶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἔχει καὶ

16 τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον· ἔτι δὲ[5] διὸ τὸν μὲν ὁ κρείττων τοῦ ἥττονος περιέστιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλῳ ἢ τῇ εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ἰσχυῖ δεῖ κρατεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ἡ τοῦ σώματος δύναμις, πολὺ κρείττων οὖσα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, συνεξῆν τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀρετὴν ἐξεταζέσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ πρὸς τῶν χειρόνων γίγνεται· ὅσα δὲ αὖ περὶ ἀθλήσεως, καὶ περὶ αὐλητοῦ εἴρηκα καὶ[6] ἀποδείξαντος γε ὅτι ἄριστός ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ

[1] κακοῖ Kayser: κοῦ codd.
[2] ἰσχυρότερος ... κρείττων
[3] οἶμαι ... κρείττων ἐν ... ἐν
[4] καὶ ... καὶ
[5] δὲ ... εἰ by Reiske.
[6] ἀποδείξαντος γε ὅτι ἄριστός ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ

should not hesitate to say that even of all the ancient heroes whose praises every one chants, he possessed valour inferior to none, inferior neither to those who warred at Troy nor to those who in later times repulsed the barbarians in Greece. Indeed, if he had lived in their day, his deeds would have matched theirs.

And, speaking *generally*, I give athletics the preference over distinction in warfare on the following grounds. First, that the best men in athletics would be equally the best men in war, for the man who is strong in body and willing to endure hardship the longest time is, in my opinion, no wise whether unarmed or armed is the better man; second, it is not the same thing to contend against unarmed opponents and men who are armed, as it is not to have for one's antagonists the best men drawn from the whole inhabited earth. Besides, in war the man who once conquers saves his antagonist so as not to have the same opponent the second time, whereas in athletics the victory is just for that one day, and afterwards the victor has for his opponents not only the men he has beaten but anyone else who cares to challenge. Further, in athletics the better man proves superior to the inferior man since he must contend with nothing else but his courage and physical strength, whereas in war the might of steel, which is much superior to mere sinew or flesh, does not allow the excellency of men's bodies to be tested and often takes the side of the inferior man.[1] Moreover, everything that I have said about athletics I have also said about one who is an athlete, and about one who has been proved to be the best of the men in

[1] Cf. § 8.

ἴσως δὲ κἀμοὶ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι προσήκων ὁ λόγος, ὥστε τοῦτο ἄριστον ὂν[1] ἀποφαίνειν.

Ὅτῳ γὰρ ὑπῆρξε μὲν κάλλος σώματος, ὑπῆρξε δὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ εὐψυχία, ἔτι δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ἀήττητον γενέσθαι,[2] τίνα ἂν τούδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
17 εὐδαιμονέστερόν τις φήσειεν, καίτοι[3] τοιούτῳ[4] παραγενέσθαι χαλεπωτάτω ἐστὶν ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη· κάλλος γὰρ ἀνθρώπους μάλιστα δὴ χαυνοῖ καὶ ἀναπείθει τρυφᾶν, ὡς ἂν δοξῆς μὲν ἑτέρας οὐ δεομένους, ὅταν τις περιβόητος ᾖ τὸ εἶδος, ἡδίονος δ' οὔσης τῆς ῥᾳθυμίας. εὕροι δ' ἄν τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλογιζόμενος τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν προτέρων τοὺς δὴ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἀνδρείας οὐδὲ ἀρετῆς ἔργον ἀπεδειξαμένους, ἀλλὰ Γανυμήδης μὲν διὰ τὸ παῖς ἀφανισθῆναι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἐδόκει πρᾶξαι λαμπρόν·
18 περὶ δὲ Ἀδώνιδος ἢ Φάωνος[5] ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅσοι περιττῆς δόξης ἐπὶ τῷ εἴδει ἔτυχον, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀκούομεν· μόνους δὲ ἂν εἴποι τις ἀνδρείους τῶν ἄγαν καλῶν Θησέα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ τούτοις οὐ πάνυ ἡ σωφροσύνη ὑπῆρξεν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἑλένην πρὸς βίαν ἥρπασεν, ὁ δ' ἐστασίαζεν ἐπὶ Τροίας ὢν

[1] ὂν added by Capps. [2] γενέσθαι Emperius. γινέσθαι.
[3] καίτοι Capps καὶ.
[4] καὶ τοιούτῳ Sonny καίτοι αὐτῷ τούτῳ.
[5] Φάωνος Wilstrand Ἰασίωνος Emperius Ἰασονος.

[1] That is, conducive to the development of the virtues, cf. § 21.
[2] A beautiful youth beloved by Aphrodite.

that profession, and perhaps both for me and for [illegible] most appropriately show [illegible]

[illegible] of body has [illegible] and a great heart and [illegible] great fortune of [illegible] deformed [illegible] man [illegible] And yet for a man [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] ἀναπείθειν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σωφροσύνη μὲν ἐστι [illegible] ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἀδίκου εἰ πάντα [illegible] γὰρ [illegible] πάντες πάντα [illegible]

16 Ἀλλ' ὅς δὴ πάντα τὰ δι' ἀνθρώπους ἀνιᾷ ἀνόητος, δίκαιον ἂν εἴη καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπαλλαγῆναι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄλλος ἅπαντος χρόνου ἄφρων ἦν, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀλογίστου μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου βίου δεδομένου πλείστου δὲ ἔτους τῆς, οὐδὲ πολὺ ἔμπροσθεν ἔλαχε, εἰ ἅπαντες ἀπολειπόμενοι τοσούτῳ συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλαττόμεθα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν τοῦτο εἰς ἐπιστήμας ἀποβλέπειν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλθόντα τοῦ βίου· Ἱπποκράτει τε καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ Σωκράτους καὶ Μελίσσου καὶ Ἀρχύτου καὶ Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ τε Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀλέξου καὶ Ἡρακλείτου τῶν μεγίστων καὶ σοφωτάτων γεγονότων· Ὁμήρου μετὰ Ἡσίοδον, αὐτῶν τε ἀκόρεστον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν δὴ ἀφροντίστου ἀπολλόντος τοῦ, ἢ ἄλλοις οὐ εἶναι ἢ ὀλίγοις καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου· οὐκ ἂν δὲ νῦν οὐ θεοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν παισὶ καὶ οὐδὲ μάλιστα ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπου τὸν τελευτὴν εἰ μὴ ὁ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦτο ἐπάθετο·

21 Ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, λογιζόμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀνόητον τὸ ἐν μακρῷ ἀποθνήσκειν χρόνῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἄτοπον διὰ τοῦτο ἐφιστάναι τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν ἀλγεινῶν, ὅτι, εἰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων τελευτήσομεν τάχιστα, ἀνόητος ἀνόμενος τῶν ἀγαθῶν τινος

[illegible]

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[1] Hippocrates, learned by Theodric, side of his father Thessalus, he was derived to the [illegible]

[2] Cf. Homer, Odyssey 11. 3.0

[illegible] for the reasons that he did. If [illegible] did have [illegible] but it is not clear whether or not he had made a coverage, since bearing is no real proof of it.

But the man who actually gained [illegible] the blessings found among man and must be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ὁ γὰρ εὐκλεοῦς δόξης τυχὼν μεστὸς ἄπεισι τῶν ἀγαθῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμνάζεσθε προθύμως καὶ πονεῖτε, οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι νομίζοντες αὐτοῖς ἀπολελεῖφθαι τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων ἀξίως· καὶ φρονεῖτε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅσον χρὴ ἄνδρας[1] πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν βιοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄντας
22 ἀσκητάς· τὸν δὲ ἀποιχόμενον μνήμῃ τιμᾶτε, μὴ δακρύοντες· οὐ γὰρ πρέποι ἂν ἡδὲ ἡ τιμὴ γενναίοις ὑπὸ γενναίων, οὐδ' ἂν Ὅμηρον ἐπαινέσαιμι, ὅτι φησὶ δεύεσθαι τάς τε ψαμάθους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς δάκρυσι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν· ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ποιητικῇ μᾶλλον ἠκολούθησεν ἡδονῇ, θρήνων ὑπερβολὰς ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐγκρατῶς φέρετε.

[1] ἄνδρας Morel: ἄνδρος.

who gains fair renown departs laden with blessings. Come then, train zealously and toil hard, the younger men in the belief that this man's place has been left to them, the older in a way that befits their own achievements, yes, and take all the pride in these things that men should who live for praise and glory and are devotees of virtue. And as for the departed, honour him by remembrance, not by tears, for that tribute would not be a seemly one for noble men to give a noble man, nor should I commend Homer for saying that the sands and their armour were bedewed with the tears of the Achaeans.[1] However, he aimed rather to give poetic pleasure when he pictured excessive lamenting, but do you bear your grief with self-control.

[1] See Homer, *Iliad* 23. 151.

THE THIRTEENTH [illegible]

[illegible]

to him and the father compl[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] p the course

[illegible]
scribed to him.

Name to Rome. Friedrich W. being on the other hand thought [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

30. ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

1 Δ. Ἀκηκόειν μὲν καὶ πρότερον πρὶν ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν περὶ ἐκείνου περὶ τῆς Τιμάρχου τελευτῆς εἴθε γὰρ ἐπιθανάτου, ὡς παρεβάλλον δεινά, περί τε ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ μαλιστα δή, περὶ τουτωνὶ ἀμφοτέρων, ὅπου τε εἴη καὶ ὅ τι πράττοιεν καὶ μοί τις εντυχών[1] οὐ παν τι αὐτοῖς ἐπιστάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀκούσαι[2] τι δύνωμαι, ἠρώτησεν εἰ τοῦ Γιμάρχου υἱὸς λέγω κἀμοῦ φήσαντος, τοῦτον εἴδηλον, τον νεώτερον δη λέγων, ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ἔτι εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ δια το πεῖθος τυδελφοῦ
2 τελευτῆσαι γὰρ αὐτοῖν τὸν πρεσβύτερον φανερος οὖν ἦν Χαρίδημον ἀπαγγέλλων τεθνηκέναι καὶ τότε μὲν ἔδοκει καὶ αμφίβολα τις εἶναι, καίτοι σαφῶς τανθρωπου εἰρηκοτος αὖθις δὲ ἀκριβέστερον ἔγνωμεν καὶ οἶμαί γε ἐμαυτὸν οὐ πολύ τι ἔλαττον ὑμῶν δηχθῆναι τὸ μὲν γὰρ μαλλον φαναι οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδε δσιον ἡμῖν, εἴ τις ἑκων μᾶλλον ἐφίλει ὑμῶν τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ
3 καίτοι οὐ μέγα ἰσχυειν ἔοικεν ἡ φυσις ἐν τοῖς φαυλοις οἷον τι καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν Ὀπουντίων

[1] Ἀπιστ. ἐνέτυχε.
[2] ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀκούσαι Dindorf. ἀλλὰ οἶ ἀκούσαι M, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις γὰρ B.

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[1] He is addressing Timarchus the father.
[2] A slight exaggeration, as we see from the next words.

THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE
CHARIDEMUS

Dio. I had heard about the death of Charidemus some time ago, even before I saw you,[1] for when I landed here I straightway made inquiries about certain other persons and most especially about these two, wishing to learn where they were and how they were getting on. Then I chanced upon a man who did not know them very well, but had merely heard their names,[2] who asked me if I meant the sons of Tiraeceus, and when I replied in the affirmative, he told me that this one, meaning the younger, was with Messeria with you on account of his mourning for his brother, for, he said, the elder of the two had died. So it was clear that he was reporting the death of Charidemus. Yet even then there appeared to be some uncertainty although the man had spoken clearly enough, but afterwards we came to know with more certainty. Now I believe that I myself was almost as deeply pained as you men were, for to say more pained would not be right nor proper for me, even if it were indeed true that one had loved him more than you, his father and his brother, did. And yet the strength of natural affection does seem to be not very great in persons of the common sort. Something like this happened, I hear, in the case of our Opuntian[3]

[3] That is, from Opus, a town of Locris.

ἀκμῆς γεγονέναι χαρίεντα καὶ κομψὸν πανίσκον ἀπυβαλόντα, ἡμέτερον κἀκεῖνον ἑταῖρον· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔλαττον αὐτὸν λυπηθῆναί φασιν ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπολωλέκει. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε πάνυ ἰσόκαιρον ἀχθομένω τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι πάσῃ ὠφέλιμος ἦν τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ βίῳ διαγεγενημένος οἷος δὴ Χαρίδημος τάχα ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐκείνου μειρακίου ὄντος οὐδένα ἔγνων εὐφυέστερον οὐδὲ ἄμεινον πεφυκότα.

4 Τὶ δέ γε ᾔδεις ὅπως διέκειτο πρὸς σέ, πολὺ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐκπαιδεύοις αὐτόν· ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ κἀμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων σὲ προτιμᾶν, ὅς γε καὶ ἐν τῇ νόσῳ καπειδὴ πρὸς αὐτῷ σχεδόν τι τῷ θανάτῳ ἦν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ ἄλλων ξυγγενῶν καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ γνωρίμων σέ ὠνομάζε, τὸ παράπαν πάνυ μόλις ἤδη φθεγγόμενος, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευε λέγειν, ὅταν σοι ἐντύχωμεν, ὅτι σοῦ μεμνημένος ἐτελεύτα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ συνεῖναι αὐτῷ καὶ διαλεγεσθαι ἕως ὕστατον παρέμεινεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν οὕτω διέκειτο ὥστε καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ καὶ τῷ βαδίσματι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι σε ἐμιμεῖτο, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ εἰδότες.

5 Δ Οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐμιμεῖτο ἐκεῖνος οὔτε ἐμὲ οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα, ἀλλ' οὕτως πεφυκεν· πρότερον δὲ ἴσως ὑμᾶς ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἐλανθάνεν· ἔπειτα προϊὼν ἐκδηλότερος ἐγένετο· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον

[1] Dio says at the beginning of Discourse 7 that he is garrulous in his old age after returning from exile, and this

friend here after he had lost a son so agreeable and [illegible] young man who [illegible] he [illegible] nevertheless they tell me that he grieved less over his death than if he had sent anything out of his house. I wish however [illegible] be very much distressed by your [illegible] and no wonder. For such a man as Charidemus [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ἐκείνῳ ἔπρεπεν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τό τε ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ σχήματος. ἀλλὰ μή τι ὑμᾶς ἐλύπει τούτοις ἢ σκυθρωπότερος ὑμῖν ἐφαίνετο,

Τ. Ἔμοι μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τούναντιον πολλῶν ἱλαρώτερος καὶ πρὸς τὸ παίζειν ἕτοιμος, ὅσαι ἐλευθέριοι παιδιαί, καὶ ἀεί πως μειδιῶν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις. γελῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνέδην οὐ πολλάκις εἶδον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐλύπει. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπῃνεῖτο ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνον ᾐσχύνοντο οἱ πολῖται δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ὄντα· τοσούτων γὰρ ἐτελεύτησεν ἢ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐνδόξους.

6 Δ. Ἀλλ' ἢ [1] τι ἄλλο ὑμῶν ἐπέστειλεν ἢ διελέχθη τελευτῶν;

Τ. Πολλὰ καὶ δαιμόνια, ὡς γε [2] ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πατρὶ ὄντι [3] ὃς γε ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεθιστάμενος οὐχ ὅπως ὠλοφύρατο αὐτὸν ἢ λυπουμένῳ ἐῴκει, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἡμᾶς παραμυθεῖτο. καὶ τά γε τελευταῖα τὸν παῖδα καλέσας ἐκέλευε γράφειν, ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, παράκλησιν τινα ἡμῖν, ὥστε ὑπενόουν ἐγὼ μὴ ἄρα ἐξεστηκὼς ἤδη διὰ τὸν θάνατον ταῦτα ποιοῖ· πλὴν ὅτι οἱ παρόντες θαυμαστῶς ἐπῄνουν.

Δ. Ἔχεις οὖν τὰ γεγραμμένα;

7 Τ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ,

Δ. Θέλεις οὖν [4] εἰπεῖν;

Τ. Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνομαι μὴ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ, ὡς ὑπὸ νεωτέρου τε καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ εἰρημένα.

[1] ἢ Reinke: εἰ.
[2] ὡς γε Selden: ὥστε.
[3] πατρὶ ὄντι Selden: πάτρῳόν τι.
[4] θέλεις οὖν Emperius: κέλευσον.

bearing came much more naturally to him than to anybody else. But I wonder if he passed you at all, by these characteristics, or appeared to you to be somewhat gloomy of countenance.

Tim. No, on the contrary, I thought that he was more cheerful than usual and ready to play such games as were proper for [illegible], and [illegible] to people whom he knew; but I did not [illegible] see him laughing without restraint. So he caused us no worry, and what is more, [illegible] of many people, and our [illegible] had more respect for him, although he was only twenty-two years old, for that was his age when he died—than they had for those who were older and in the public eye.

Dio. But [illegible] gave you any other commission or say anything else, [illegible] his death bed?

Tim. Yes, [illegible] remarks on things—at least, so I [illegible] think. For although he was departing from life at such an early age, so far was he from lamenting his fate or showing any grief that on the contrary he tried to comfort us. Then finally he called the servant and [illegible] to him, he one [illegible] an address for our consolation, so that I began to suspect that perhaps it was because his mind was now wandering on account of the nearness of death that he was doing this. Those who were at his bedside, though, praised it highly.

Dio. Pray, have you what he wrote?

Tim. Yes, indeed.

Dio. Then are you willing to repeat it?

Tim. O yes, our salutation for fear that it is not in proper shape, because it was spoken by a comparatively young man and at such a time. For I

καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔδοκει μοι μᾶλλον ἑνὸς σοῦ παρόντος ἂν εὐλαβηθῆναι ὅ τι εἶπεν[1] ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων.

Δ. Οὐ πρὸς ἀλλότριον ἀναγνώσῃ, ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ ἅμα οὐ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ποθῶ γνῶναι τοσοῦτον ὅσον τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφ' ἧς ἔλεγεν, εἰ τῷ ὄντι εὐθύμως καὶ θαρρῶν ἀπέθνησκεν

8 Τ. Ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα·

α' λόγος τοῦ Χαριδήμου τελευτῶντος[2]

Τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτω γέγονεν ὡς ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ, χρὴ δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γιγνομένων χαλεπὸν ἡγεῖσθαι μηδὲ δυσχερῶς φέρειν, ὡς παραινοῦσιν ἄλλοι τε σοφοὶ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Ὅμηρος, λέγων μηδαμῇ ἀπυβλήτα εἶναι ἀνθρώποις τὰ θεῶν δῶρα, καλῶς ὀνομάζων δῶρα τὰ ἔργα τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἅπαντα ἀγαθὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
9 γιγνόμενα. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτω φρονῶ καὶ δέχομαι πρᾴως τὴν πεπρωμένην, οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ καιρῷ ταῦτα λέγων, ἀλλὰ παρούσης τε αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁρῶν οὕτως ἐγγύθεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ πιστεύοντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν ἐπεμελήθην ἀληθείας, καθ' ὅσον οἷοί τέ ἐστε, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε τῇ ἀλγηδόνι, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ δεινοῦ συμβεβηκότος, μηδὲ εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὸν δυσχερέστατον ἔλθοι τῶν λόγων.

[1] ὅ τι εἶπεν Capps: τι εἶπεν.
[2] The heading is supplied by the translator.

[1] Hagen points out that there are certain places where Dio puts his own ideas into the mouth of someone else. See, e.g. Discourse i. 56 ff., 11. 37 ff., 36. 39 ff.

really thought that he would have been more careful in what he said had you been the only one present, than he was with all the rest there.

Dio. It is no outsider that you will be reading to, my good friend, and, at the same time, it is not the style that I am anxious to observe so much as what his state of mind was as revealed by what he said, whether he was really of good cheer and courageous on his deathbed.

Tim. Well, here it is.[1]

The Dying Words of Charidemus

"What has happened to me has happened in accordance with God's will, and we should not consider anything that he brings to pass as harsh, nor bear it with repining, so wise men advise us,[2] and Homer not least when he says that the gifts of the gods to man should not be spurned by man,[3] rightly calling the acts of the gods 'gifts,' as being all good and done for a good purpose.[4] As for me, this is my feeling, and I accept the decree of fate cheerfully, saying this, not at any ordinary time, but when that fate itself is present, and I see my end so near at hand. And do you, I pray, believe me, since I have had even greater concern for the truth than for you, and, so far as in you lies, do not give way to your grief, knowing that nothing terrible has befallen me, no, not even if one offers the explanation of death which is the most difficult to accept.

[1] See Thesaurus 1601, Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, Frag. 757 Nauck.
[2] See *Iliad* 3. 65.
[4] Cf. Discourse 23. 10, 32. 14, Plato, *Republic* 380 c.

10 Λέξω δὲ αὐτὸν ὑμῖν οὔτε σοῦ τερπνὸν ὄντα οὐδὲ χαρίεντα· οὐ γὰρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς χάριν τὴν ἡμετέραν γίγνοιτο· ἔχοντα δέ τι θαυμαστὸν ἴσως ὅτι τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἵματός ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὡς οὖν ἐκείνων ἐχθρῶν ὄντων τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πολεμησάντων οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς φίλοι ἐσμέν, ἀλλὰ κολαζόμεθά τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ γεγόναμεν, ἐν φρουρᾷ δή, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἑκάστοις ζῶμεν· τοὺς δὲ ἀποθνήσκοντας ἡμῶν κεκολασμένους ἤδη, ἱκανῶς λύεσθαί τε καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

11 Εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον τοῦτον, ὃν κόσμον ὀνομάζομεν, δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κατεσκευασμένον χαλεπόν τε καὶ δυσπέρασον, οὐδέποτε τὴν αὐτὴν κρᾶσιν τε καὶ στάσιν τοῦ ἀέρος φυλάττον, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ψυχρόν τε καὶ παγερόν, ἀνέμου τε καὶ πηλοῦ καὶ χιόνος καὶ ὕδατος ἐμπεπλησμένον, ποτὲ δὲ αὖ θερμόν τε καὶ πνιγηρόν· μικρὸν δέ τινα παντελῶς καιρὸν τοῦ ἔτους μετρίως ἔχειν· κατασείεσθαι δὲ καὶ πρηστῆρας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τυφῶνας ἐγγίγνεσθαι καὶ πολλάκις σείεσθαι κάτωθεν ὅλον· ταῦτα δὲ
12 πάντα εἶναι κολάσεις δεινάς· ἐκπλήττεσθαι γὰρ ἑκάστοτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὁπότε συμβαίνοι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις

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[1] After warring against the gods for ten years they were defeated and [illegible] in a cavity [illegible] in Tartarus. Cf. [illegible] Aglaophon p. 565, where it is said that the sons of the Titans were turned out [illegible] fire from heaven and reduced to ashes and "that from those ashes the Titans [illegible] are of Orphic hymns assert that the human race sprang."—"Ex

This explanation I will now give to you although it is very likely not at all cheering, nor pleasing for I imagine it was not devised to please us and it has something of the grandiosity about it perhaps. It is to the effect that all we human beings are of the blood of the Titans[1] Then because they were hateful to the gods and had waged war on them, we are not dear to them either but are pastured by them and have been born for chastisement being, in truth imprisoned in life for as long a time as we each live And when any of us dies, it means that we having already been sufficiently chastised,[2] are released and go our way

This place which we call the universe they tell us, is a prison prepared by the gods[3] a grievous and ill ventilated one which never keeps the same temperature and condition of its air but at one time is cold and frosty and infected with wind mud, snow, and water, and at another time again is hot and stifling for just a very little time of the year it is endurable. It is visited by cyclones typhoons occur and sometimes the whole of it quakes to the very bottom Now all these are terrible punishments For men are invariably dismayed and terrified by them whenever they occur Then in addition

[1] Titans were giants born of Gaia and Ouranos who punished Orphic[illegible] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Orpheus and his followers are credited with the doctrine that the soul is punished in the body as a tomb

[3] [illegible] Phaedo 62 b "The statement found in esoteric doctrines that we human beings are in a sort of prison [illegible] Tartarus [illegible] Pythagorean proverb is referred to in connection with the idea that the body is a tomb

οὐκ ἀνεχομένους τοῦ ἀέρος τὴν φαυλότητα καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς ἕτερα αὖ μηχανᾶσθαι μικρὰ δεσμωτήρια, τάς τε οἰκίας καὶ πόλεις, ξύλα καὶ λίθους ξυντιθέντας, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐν μεγάλῃ εἰρκτῇ ἑτέρας βραχυτέρας ἐνικοδομοῖ.

Καὶ τὰ φυόμενα ταῦτα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐκ γῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ παραμένειν ἡμᾶς γεγενῆσθαι, καθάπερ δεσμωτικὴν τροφὴ διδομένην ἡδέ τε καὶ φαύλην ἡμᾶς δὲ ἄλλων λιμπᾶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τε καὶ
13 ἀπορίαν· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν κολαζομένοις, ἅττ' ἂν παρασχῇ τις, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ συνηθείας ἡδέα φαίνεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σιτία τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ ποινὰ εἶναι καὶ διαφθορέα, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τὴν διαφθορὰν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθενείας· ἔτι δὲ μηδὲ ἐξ ἑτοίμου πορίζεσθαι μηδὲ πᾶσιν ἄφθονα ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀμηχανιῶν πόνων καὶ κακῶν.

Ξυγκεῖσθαι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν βασαν-
14 ζόντων ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας τε καὶ λύπας καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ φόβους καὶ φροντίδας καὶ μυρία πάθη τοιαῦτα ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ, καὶ δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τούτων ἀεὶ κατατείνεσθαι καὶ στρέβλουσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἐπιεικέστερον διάκειται, παθόλου μὲν ἀπηλλάκται τούτων οὐδενός, ὥσπερ δὲ θηρία ἔνδον κατακεκλεισμένα ἔχει, μετὰ βίας ὁμοῦ καὶ πειθοῦς τινος ἠναγκασμένα τρεμεῖν· εἰ δὲ καὶ σμικρὸν παύσαιτο κατεπᾴδων καὶ προσέχων, αὐτίκα δὴ
15 μάλα κινούμενα· τὸ δὲ σῶμα εὐλιγγίας τε καὶ σπασμοὺς καὶ ἐπιληψίας καὶ τἄλλα νοσήματα,

[1] Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, I 206-217.
[2] Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 493-494 about the desires within us.

to all this because men cannot endure the bad air and the [illegible] of [illegible] for themselves. They [illegible] houses and cities which they [illegible] and [illegible], but as if a person should build other smaller enclosures inside of a large one

And the plants which grow all about us and the fruits of the earth are created they assure us, simply in order that we may [illegible] our time here. They are just like [illegible] and [illegible] food [illegible] but we [illegible] put up with [illegible] necessity which [illegible] upon us and our [illegible]. For in the case of men who are being [illegible] by us whatever is furnished appears [illegible] because they are hungry and need food. These foods are in reality bad [illegible] that they are spoiled [illegible] by the frenzy of our bodies. And further it is not even furnished as ready at hand nor yet supplied in abundance to every one, but must be won with into [illegible] and [illegible]

And we are composed of the very things which torture us, namely soul and body. For the one has within it desires, pains, anxiety, fears, worries, and countless such feelings, and is day and by night ever racked and wrecked by them. Even the man who is of a better and [illegible] condition than most, is free from none whatever of these troubles, but has them shut up within him just as wild animals confined in a cage, not by force and persuasion [illegible] but if he stops singing charms to them and watching them for even a short time, they immediately become very active. Our bodies [illegible] get tired, go, consumptions, epilepsy, and other diseases, so numerous

ὅσα οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δυνατὸν διελθεῖν, ὡς ἂν αἵματος καὶ πνεύματος μεστόν, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ σαρκῶν τε καὶ νεύρων καὶ ὀστέων συγκείμενον, ἐκ μαλακῶν τε καὶ σκληρῶν καὶ ὑγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν, ὄντων[1] ἐναντιωτάτων τά τε σιτία, ὅπερ εἶπον, μοχθηρὰ ὄντα καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἀνώμαλον προσπίπτοντα τας μὲν ἐπιτεινειν τῶν νόσων, τας δὲ ἀνακωλῦειν, οὐ δοκούσας μὲν εἶναι προτερον, οὐσας δὲ ἐν
16 τῇ φυσει τῶν σωμάτων· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔνδον ἐγκεῖσθαι τὰ κακὰ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἑτέρας δὲ ἔξωθεν κολάσεις, ἐλαφροτερας,[2] εἴ τις αὐτὰς παραβάλλοι ταῖς ἐκ της φύσεως· ἡ γὰρ πυρός τε καὶ σιδήρου φύσις καὶ πληγῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄφνω καὶ ταχυ απαλλαττει τῆς αἰσθήσεως, εἴ τις καὶ σμικρὸν ὑπερβαλοι· ἐν δὲ ταῖς νοσοις ἐνιοτε παρατείνουσι καὶ πάνυ πολὺν χρόνον·

17 Τοιαῖσδε μὲν δὴ καὶ τοσαῖσδε βασάνοις ξυνεχομενους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇδε τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ τῷδε τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ μένειν τον τεταγμενον ἕκαστον χρόνον, καὶ μὴ πριν ἀπιέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὶν ἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος ἄλλον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλίπῃ διαδοχον τῆς κολασεως, οἱ μεν ἕνα, οἱ δε καὶ πλειους· μένειν δε οὐχ ἑκοντας, ἀλλὰ μιᾷ πάντας ἁλυσει δεδεσθαι τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχάς, καθαπερ καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν ἁλυσει μιᾷ δεδεμένους πολλους ἐφεξῆς, τοὺς μεν αὐτῶν σμικρους, τοὺς δε μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχρους, τους δ' εὐπρεπεῖς, οὐδεν δὲ ἧττον ἅπαντας ἐπ' ἴσης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἔχεσθαι·

[1] ὄντων Cohoon, ἐκ τῶν.

that it is not even possible to enumerate them since it is full of blood and air and, further, is composed of flesh and sinews and bones, of both soft and hard things, of moist and dry things, complete opposites. The [illegible] our foods, as I said, being bad and the weather variable, aggravate some of our diseases and bring on others, which, though they do not seem to be there at first, yet are seen to be inherent in the nature of our bodies. These are the evils which we bring in our own selves. The other chastisements, which come from without, are lighter in comparison with those that come from our own nature. For the effect of fire or steel, of knives or of other things is sharp and quickly passes from consciousness even if it becomes at any time a little excessive. But in the case of diseases sometimes the effects last for a very long time.[1]

Such, then, are the tortures, and so numerous, by which men are afflicted while they remain in this prison and dungeon, each for his appointed time, and the majority do not get out until they produce another person from their own loins and leave him to succeed to the punishment in their stead, some leaving one and others even more. They do not stay voluntarily but are all bound fast by one chain, body and soul, just as you may see many persons bound by us by one chain in a row, some of them small, some large, some ugly and some good looking, but none the less all of them are held on equal terms in the same constraint.[2]

[1] He is speaking from personal experience.
[2] [illegible]

[illegible] added by Cobet, Arabic [illegible] in place of [illegible].

18 Ὁμοίων δὲ καὶ ταῖς τύχαις τε καὶ δόξαις καὶ τιμαῖς ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχου, ὥσπερ τοῖς σώμασιν εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας, τοὺς δὲ ἰδιώτας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας καὶ οὐδέν γε παρὰ τοῦτο ἔλαττον κακοπαθεῖν καὶ συνεχεσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ δεσμῷ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας καλουμένους τῶν πενήτων τε καὶ ἀδόξων, ἀλλὰ
19 μᾶλλον τούτων ἐκείνους· ἰσχυροτέροις γὰρ οὖσιν αὐτοῖς κεχαλάσθαι τὸν δεσμὸν καὶ λαγαρώτερον ἑκάστῳ περικεῖσθαι· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις, οἷς δὴ πεφυσημένοις τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ σφοδρὰ εὐεκτοῦσι, μᾶλλον ἐγκεῖσθαι καὶ θλίβειν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τὰ σώματα δεδεμένοις τοὺς παχεῖς τε καὶ ὀγκώδεις τῶν λεπτῶν τε καὶ ἀτρόφων μᾶλλον ὁ δεσμὸς πιέζει· τοῖς μέντοι καὶ λίαν ὀλίγους πάρεσιν τινὰ ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δεδέσθαι μέν, ἀλαφρῶς δὲ πάνυ δι' ἐπιείκειαν ὅπερ ὧν αὖθις λέξομεν.

20 Πρότερον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον, ὡς ἐγώ ποτε ἤκουσα ἀνδρὸς ἀγυρτοῦ παῖς ὤν, ἀπόρρητα τινὰ ἔφασκεν εἶναι τὴν ἄλυσιν, οὔτι που τοιάσδε ὁμοίαν, ἐκ σιδήρου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην, πολὺ μέντοι κραταιοτέραν, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν πλοκὴν παραπλησίαν· ὥσπερ γὰρ αἷδε εἰσὶν ἐκ κρίκων τινῶν κεχαλκευμένοι δι' ἀλλήλων διαβεβλημένων, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους· οὕτω δὴ κἀκείνην

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[1] Cf. Discourse 80. 11 ff. and Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi* 10. 3: "We are all bound to fortune: the chain of some is golden, of others rose, of yet others light and loal. But what difference does it make? The same custody surrounds all without exception. One man put on office binds, another wealth. Some men bear the weight

speak again.[1]

[1] He does so in § 36.

ἔχειν, ἢ δὴ ἔφαμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ τῶν
21 θεῶν δεδέσθαι· συνηρτῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ἅπασαν
ἐξ ἡδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀλλήλων
πεπλέχθαι, τό τε ἡδὺ καὶ λυπηρόν· καὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ
τὸ ἕτερον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀεὶ ἀκολουθεῖ, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι,
τοὺς κρίκους τῆς ἁλύσεως· ἕπεσθαι δὲ ταῖς μὲν
μεγάλαις ἡδοναῖς μεγάλας λύπας, ταῖς δὲ σμικραῖς
σμικροτέρας, καὶ τήν γε μεγίστην ἡδονὴν ἐπὶ τέλους
εἶναι τοῦ θανάτου· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ λύπῃ πρὸ αὐτοῦ
συμβαίνει μεγίστῃ· δηλοῖ γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν
ἀνθρώπῳ μείζων ταύτης τῆς λύπης καὶ ὀδύνης
τῆς ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον.
22 Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἕτερα εἶναι δεινά,
τοῖς μὲν ἐλάττω, τοῖς δὲ μείζω περικείμενα
ὥσπερ πέδας· καλεῖσθαι δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτὰς
ἐλπίδας· ὥσπερ οὖν τὰς πέδας κατωτέρω τοῦ
σώματος εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσιν,
οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας κατωτάτω εἶναι καὶ περὶ τὸ
τελευταῖον μέρος τοῦ βίου, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ
κρατεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀναγκάζειν πάντα
πάσχοντας ὑπομένειν· τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνοήτοις
τε καὶ ἠλιθίοις ὑπερόγκους τε εἶναι τὰς πέδας
ταύτας καὶ σφοδρὰ παχείας, τοῖς δὲ κομψοτέροις
κεχαλάσθαι τε καὶ λεπτὰς περικεῖσθαι.
23 Καὶ γάρ τοι προσείκαζε καὶ ῥίνῃ τι,[1] πάνυ
ἀνδρικῶς ἑπόμενος τῇ εἰκόνι· τοῦτο δὲ ἔφη μόνους
εὑρίσκειν τοὺς κομψούς τε καὶ δριμεῖς· ἀποκε-
κλεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐν
δεσμωτηρίῳ ῥῖνα ἀποκρυψειεν, ὅπως μηδεὶς
τῶν δεσμωτῶν λάβοι, ἔπειτα λυσειεν ἑαυτόν·

[1] ῥίνῃ τι Pbagk : ῥίνην τινὰ UB, ῥίνην τινὰ M.

so too is that other one by which we asserted that men are bound by the gods. This chain, he said, is composed entirely of both pleasure and pain, and these things are interwoven, the pleasant and the painful, and the one always of necessity follows the other, just as, I suppose, are the links of a chain.[1] Great pleasures are followed by great pains, the small pleasures by small pains, and the very greatest pleasure at the end is death. This is the reason why the man who comes before death is the greatest fool of all, for the man has no greater pain and suffering than the man who dies in death.

He said, further, that for each man there are other bonds, in some cases lighter, in other cases heavier, which he upon earth, just like fetters, they are called hopes by us. Now, just as the fetters are at the lowest part of the body and around our extremities, so the hopes too are at the very bottom and surround the lower part of our life. They most of all hold men in their thrall and compel them to endure even though they suffer excessively. In the case of the wicked and foolish these fetters are massive and exceedingly thick, but for the more intelligent, the shackles that surround them are loose and light.

And mark you, he also compared something to a fine, very manifest saying to his parable. This, he said, is found only by the more intelligent and shrewd, for it is located away very carefully, just as a person might hide a lot in a prison in order that none of the prisoners might get hold of it and then free

[1] For this idea of opposites see Plato, *Phaedo* 60 b–c.

[2] Cf. Plutarch, *Consolation to Apollonius* 107 f: "For human souls are bound by greater chains, [illegible] no trouble [illegible] you." Note the personification in order, slender hope, hopes.

τοὺς οὖν φιλοτίμους καὶ φιλοπόνους μόλις μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἀνευρίσκειν καλεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν αὐτὸ λόγον ἐπειδὰν οὖν ταχιστα εὕρωσι, χρῆσθαί τε καὶ ῥιπτεῖν τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ ποιεῖν τῆς ἁλύσεως τὸ καθ' αὑτοὺς ὡς οἷόν τε ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἀσθενέστατον, μέχρις ἂν ᾖ[1] δυνατὸν κατεργάσωνται

24 τάς τε ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας βριθὺ δὲ τοῦτο γίγνεται μολὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ λύσις, ἅτε σπερεῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀδιαστάτων, καθικνεῖται καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπαθῆ, παντελῶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δύνατο διαπεῖραι καὶ διελεῖν ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγγένηται τινὶ τὸ φιλόπονον καὶ φιλόσοφον αὐτῷ χρήσηται δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐφ' ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἐστίν, εὐχερῶς ἤδη τὴν φρουραν φέρει καὶ περιέρχεται παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὥσπερ λελυμένος, καὶ τοῦ χρεὼν ἐπιπτάντος ῥᾴδιως ἕπεται, ὡς ἂν οὐκέτι βίᾳ κρατούμενος οὐδὲ σφιγγόμενος ἐκ τούτων ἐνίοτε οἱ θεοὶ τινας καὶ παιδιοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦνται δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν, καθόλου τῆς τιμωρίας ἀπαλλάξαντες

25 Ταῦτα μέν τις εἶπεν ἀνὴρ δυσάρεστος, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ, καὶ πολλὰ λελυπημένος κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὀψὲ παιδείας ἀληθοῦς ἡσθημένος, οὐ μὴν ἀληθή γε οὐδὲ πρέποντα θεοῖς ἕτερος δὲ βελτίων ἐστὶ τοῦδε λόγος, ὃν πολὺ ἂν εἴποιμι προθυμότερον ἤκουσα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου γεωργοῦ ἐν ἀγροίκῳ τινὶ ῥυθμῷ

[1] ᾖ Selden, ἦ D, ἢ U, el M.

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[1] As contrasted with that part of the chain which holds the other prisoners.

[2] Cf. Discourse 80. 8.

himself. Now the ambitious and meddlesome have trouble in finding it, but still they do find it. And the name they give to it is Reason. Then as soon as they find it they use it to file the fetters and make the part of the chain that binds their souls[1] as thin and weak as possible, until they overcome the grasses and pass so far as one may. But this is slow work. Only with difficulty does their 'reason' affect the souls because they are of adamantine stubbornness,[2] and it wears them away only gradually, but is not able to wear them entirely through and tear them asunder. And when a man does get hold of Diogenes and uses to associate by day and night to the best of his ability, he now endures his condition not cheerfully, works a good past the others as if he were a free man, and when his fateful hour comes he goes his way without hesitance, as though no longer restrained by force or cramped to the chain.[3] Of such men the gods at times make some their companions on account of their virtue and wisdom, after completely freeing them from the upper chain.[4]

Now this explanation was given, in my opinion, by a certain morose man who had suffered a great deal in his life and only late had gained true education,[5] but it is not the right explanation, nor one that befits the gods. There is another one better than that, which I am much more eager to give. I heard it from a peasant who spoke with a very rustic drawl

[1] Cf. § 43 of this Discourse and the pseudo-Platonic *Alcyoneus* 365 b. Men shrink from their fate, but they sing and almost singing are [illegible] like the swan in Discourse 12. 4. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

καὶ μέλει· πλὴν τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν αὐτὴν ἀπομνησθῆναι πειρασόμεθα.

Ἔλεγε δὲ ὑμῶν τόν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ὡς ἀγαθοί τε εἶεν[1] καὶ φιλοῖεν ἡμᾶς, ἅτε δὴ ξυγγενεῖς ὄντας[2] αὐτῶν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι γένος, οὐκ ἀπὸ Τιτάνων οὐδ' ἀπὸ Γιγάντων· ὅτε γὰρ τὰ σύμπαντα ἔσχον, ὥσπερ ἀποικίαν τινὰ αὐτῶν[3] ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐρήμῃ οὔσῃ κατοικίσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἥτταν τιμαῖς καὶ ὄλβῳ, δικαίοις δὲ καὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις καὶ εὐδαίμονες τὰς μικρὰς κατοικίζουσι· καὶ μοι ἔδοκει λέγειν οὐ προστίθεις αὐτὸς τὰ ὀνόματα, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι Κυθνίους ἢ Σεριφίους ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κυθηρίους τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ᾤκισαν· καὶ μιμήματα γε παρ' ἑκάστοις τούτοις ἴδοιν ἔστι τῶν ἤθων[4] καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἣν οἱ κτίσαντες ἔχουσιν, ἀσθενῆ δὲ πάντα καὶ χειρόνα· τὴν μέντοι διαφορότητα οὐκ ἴσην εἶναι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἅτε ἀνθρώπους ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν θεῶν ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄπειρόν τινα εἶναι· μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἔτυχε νεοκατάστατος ὢν ὁ βίος, τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς

27

[1] τε εἶεν Arnim: τέ εἶεν.
[2] ὄντας Reiske: ἄντας.
[3] αὐτῶν Arnim: αὐτοῦ.
[4] ἤθων Benten: θεῶν.

[1] Cf. Discourse 36. 39.

[2] Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 63 b: "that those who care for us are gods": τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους.

[3] Cf. Discourse 12. 32; Aratus, *Phaenomena* 5; Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* 5; *Acts of the Apostles* 17. 28: "For we are really his offspring": τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

[4] Cf. Plato, *Critias* 109 b; Maximus Tyrius 1 e–f; Eurytamus in Stobaeus' *Florilegium* 4. 39. 27, p. 916, 9 f.

and accent. However, perhaps there is no need for us to [illegible] this, and we shall attempt merely to record his thought.

He said in reciting the prayers of Zeus and the other gods that they are good and love us, as being of kin to them. For [illegible] the gods are believed, that the race of men is sprung and not from Titans or from Giants. For when they got the universe into their power, they [illegible] looked upon the earth which was [illegible] as a sort of [illegible] of their own people, on the basis of [illegible] honours and [illegible], but with the same [illegible] as their own, precisely after the fashion in which great and [illegible] found the [illegible]. And I thought that he meant, without expressly adding the proper names, just as Athens founded Ionia and Sicilies or Sparta founded [illegible] giving them the same laws as they themselves had. And in these various colonies you may behold copies of the customs and the form of government which their founders gave, but all are weak and inferior. However, the superiority of the [illegible] over their colonies is not as great, for in the one case it is the superiority of men over men, whereas the greater [illegible] of the gods as compared with us [illegible] is an infinite one. Now, as long as Zeus was but newly established, the gods both visited us in person and

[1] The divinity settled man, the most thoughtful animal, in the [illegible] Thus whom [illegible] atque hominum [illegible] *De Natura Deorum* 2. 53. 154.

τε παραγίγνεσθαι καὶ πέμπειν ὥσπερ ἁρμοστὰς παρ' αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους, οἷον Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διονύσον καὶ Περσέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς ἀκούομεν θεῶν παῖδας, τοὺς δὲ ἐκγόνους γενέσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν ἔπειτα ἱστορεῖν ἰέναι δι' αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ὅπως ἂν δυνώμεθα καὶ τότε δή τι ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ξυμβαίνειν

23 Ἴδοι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας ἰδέας, ὡς ὁ μὲν κόσμος οἶκος ἐστι πάνυ καλὸς τε καὶ θεῶν ὑπὸ θεῶν τε κατεσκευασμένος ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων τε καὶ πλουσίων πολιτῶν οἴκοις ἐρήμοις κατεσκευασμένους στοὰς καὶ κίοσι, καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ γραφαῖς τὴν τε ὀροφὴν καὶ τοίχους καὶ θύρας ἐωργασμένους[1] ὁμοίως γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τε καὶ εὐφροσύνην ἀνθρώπων, εὐειδῆ καὶ ποικίλον ἄστρος τε καὶ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ φυτοῖς, ἃ δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ πλοῦτοι καὶ τέχνης τῆς ἐκείνου ἐστίν

24 Παραγίγνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς αὐτὸν ἑορτάσοντας, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν θεῶν κεκλημένους ἐπ' εὐωχίαν τινὰ καὶ θοίνην λαμπράν, ἁπάντων ἀπολαυσόντας τῶν ἀγαθῶν κατοικεῖσθαι δὲ ἄλλους ἀλλαχῇ, καθάπερ ἐν δεῖπνῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἀμείνους χώρας, τοὺς δὲ φαυλοτέρας τυχόντας εἶναι δὲ πάντα ὁμοῖα τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν γιγνομένοις ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς, πλὴν ὡς μικροῖς καὶ ἀγένεσι

[1] ἐργασμένους Casaubon ἐρεισμένους BM, ἐρεισμένοις U.

[1] The governors which the Spartans sent out after the Peloponnesian War to keep in order the cities which they had conquered were so called.

[2] *f. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations* I. 12. 28, Plato, *Laws* 713 d.

sent harmosts,[1] as it were, from their own number at first to look after us such as Heracles, for example,[2] Dionysus, Perseus, and the others, who, we are told, were the children of the gods, and that the descendants of these were born among us.[3] Afterwards they permitted us to manage for ourselves as best we could. And then it was that sin and injustice began.

The peasant also chanted a second monody,[4] telling how the universe is a house very beautiful and divine, constructed by the gods, that just as we see houses built by men who are called prosperous and wealthy, with porticos and columns and the roof, walls, and doors adorned with gold and with paintings, in the same way the universe has been made to give entertainment and good cheer to mankind, beauteous and bedecked with stars, sun, moon, land, sea, and plants,[5] all these being, indeed, portions of the wealth of the gods and specimens of their handiwork.[6]

" Into this universe comes mankind to hold high festival, having been invited by the king of the gods to a most splendid feast and banquet that they may enjoy all blessings.[7] They recline in different places, just as at a dinner, some getting better and others inferior positions, and everything resembles what takes place among us at our entertainments, except that we are comparing the

[1] Cf. Discourse 36, 23; Plato, *Laws* 713 d and *Timaeus* 40 a, and following.

[2] Cf. 26. The first is in §§ 26, 27.

[3] Cf. Discourse 28 f. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* I. 39, 98.

[4] Cf. pseudo Aristotle *Περὶ κόσμου* c. 5, p. 396 a, 27 f. and c. 6, p. 400 a, 2 f.

[5] Cf. Discourse 12, 30 f. and Plato, *Politicus* 272 a.

θεῖα καὶ μεγάλα εἰκάσαι φῶς τε γὰρ[1] ἡμῖν παρέχειν τοὺς θεοὺς δοκοῦν διὰ λαμπτήρων τινῶν, τοτὲ μὲν πλείω, τοτὲ δὲ ἔλαττον, τὸ μὲν νυκτός, τὸ
30 δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ παρακεῖσθαι δὴ τραπέζας πάντων μεστάς, σίτου τε καὶ ὀπώρας, τῆς μὲν αὐτομάτου, τῆς δὲ εἰργασμένης, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρεῶν, τῶν μὲν ἡμέρων, τῶν δὲ ἀγρίων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ θαλάττης. εἶναι δὲ τὰς τραπέζας ἔφη, πάνυ ἀγροίκως λέγων, τοὺς τε λειμῶνας καὶ πεδία καὶ νάπας καὶ ἀκτάς, ἐπ' οἷς τὰ μὲν φύεσθαι, τὰ δὲ νέμεσθαι, τὰ δὲ θηρᾶσθαι· ἄλλα δὲ ἄλλοις πλείονα παρεῖναι, πρὸς οἷς ὧν ἕκαστοι τραπέζαις κατακλιθῶσιν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θαλάττῃ τυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς πεδίοις, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ὄρεσι
31 διακονεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς Ὥρας, οἷα δὴ νεωτάτας οὔσας τῶν θεῶν, εὖ μὲν ἀμπεχομένας, καλὰς δὲ ἴδεῖν, οὔτι που χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένας, ἀλλὰ παντοίων ἀνθῶν στεφάνοις. διανέμειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τἄλλα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἑστιάσεως, τὰ μὲν παρατιθείσας, τὰ δὲ αἱρούσας κατὰ καιρόν, γίγνεσθαι δὲ χορούς καὶ τὴν
32 ἄλλην εὐπάθειαν ἅπασαν, τὸν μέντοι πόνον τοῦτον, ὃν ἔχειν δοκοῦμεν ἐν[2] γεωργίαις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ φυτείαις, εἶναι τοσοῦτον ὅσον τοῖς κατακειμένοις τὸ ἐπορεξασθαι τινος καὶ τῇ χειρὶ λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἔφην, ἄλλον ἀλλαχῇ κατακεῖσ-

[1] γὰρ after παρ' deleted by Reiske.
[2] ἐν added by Arnim.

[1] Cf. Dionysius 12 20, Genesis .. 16.

divine and great with the small and mean. For the gods furnish us with light of two kinds by means of lamps as it were, at one time a brighter and at another a dimmer, the one at night and the other by day.[1] and tables are set beside us, loaded with everything, with bread and fruit, some of it wild and some cultivated, and with meats too, some from domestic animals, some from wild, and fish also from the sea. And these tables, the peasant said, speaking like a true rustic, are the meadows, plains, vales, and coast land, on which some things grow, others pasture, and yet others are hunted. And different persons have different things in greater abundance according to the tables at which they have severally reclined. For some happen to have settled by the sea, others on the plains, and yet others in the mountains. And the waters are the Seasons,[1] as being the youngest of the gods, beautifully dressed and fair to behold, and they are adorned not merely in a fair good, but with garlands of all manner of flowers. And some of the flowers thereon you they distribute and also attend to the needs of the banquet in general, serving some and reasoning others at the right time. And there is dancing and every other sort of merrymaking. Furthermore, that labour which we think we undergo in farming and hunting and the care of the vines, is no more than is for those at a table to reach out for a thing and take it in their hand. To return now to my statement that different persons reclined in different places, the reason for

[1] Daughters of Zeus and Themis. Cf. what is said about them in Hesiod and the parodic Aristotle, Πεοὶ κόσμου c. 6, 397 a, 11 ff.

θαι· τούτου καὶ ἡ κρᾶσις τῶν ἀέρων αἰτία· τοὺς γὰρ πρώτους καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι τινὲς μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν αἴθρᾳ, τοὺς μὲν ἐγγὺς τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ πόρρω.

23 Ἡ οὖν εὐφροσύνη καὶ τὴ εὐκοχία χρῆσθαι οὐχ ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀπείρους καὶ ἀκράτους οὖσα ἀρτίως πόνων οὔτε ἀκούειν οἴδασι, ἀλλὰ ἀγκαλεῖ φοβεῖν εἰθίσαι, ὅστερ τὸ σκύφιον ὄν, ἔπειτα μετιέναι· τινὲς δὲ αἰτίᾳ μὴ ἀρκεσθῆναι τοῖς παρούσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὰ πορρωτέρω διατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας, οἷον μεστοὶ ὄντες χθὲς ἀρκεῖσθαι

24 καὶ πράγματα ἔχει· ἄλλους δὲ ἀπλήστους τε καὶ ἀθλίους ὄντας φιλοῦμεν μὴ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἄλλοτε, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιάγειν καὶ σωρεύειν ἀλλ' ἐν δυνώνται· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅταν αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι δεῖ, πορεύεσθαι μόλις μεταστόντας, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ἐνδεεῖς, καταλείπειν δὲ ταῦτα ἑτέροις· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φέρεσθαι μεθ' ἑαυτῶν· τοὺτους μὲν οὖν κατα-

25 γελᾶν, θαυμάζειν καὶ ἐπιχαίρειν· ἑτέροις δὲ πεττεύειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀστραγαλίζειν· εἶναι δὲ τοὺς πεττοὺς τε καὶ ἀστραγάλους οὐχ οἵους ἡμεῖς ὀνομάζομεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν χρυσοῦς τοὺς δὲ ἀργυροῦς· ὃ δὴ νόμισμα καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, ὅπερ οὐ διαφέρεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἕκαστον πλεονεκτεῖν· πλείστον δὴ θορυβοῦν τοὺς καὶ ἀπόσμιον παρέχειν, τοὺς δὲ κυβεύοντας, καὶ δοκεῖν τῶν σωμάτων ἀηδέστατοι· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ μαχεσθαι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι καὶ τιτρώσκειν

26 ἀλλήλους· μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς μεθυσκομένους ταῦτα

[1] de Casaubon: de M, ὧν B.

that is the difference in the climate. For those at the head of the tables and those at the foot more than the others are either in the cold or in the heat because they are either near the light or far from it.

Now all so the man continued do not enjoy the merrymaking and banqueting in the same way, but each according to his own nature.[1] The dissolute and intemperate neither see nor hear any thing, but [illegible] and eat like pigs in a sty and then [illegible] up. Again some of them are not satisfied with what is near at hand but reach out their heads for the things that are farther away as for example people living in [illegible] and want fish and take trouble to get it, while others who are insatiable and wretched, fearing the food which is [illegible] collect and put up for themselves as much as they can and after this, when they have to go they depart without having a share of anything but utterly destitute, and leave these things to others for they cannot take them with them. Now these persons are a laughing stock and disgrace. Others play at draughts and yet others with dice but the draughts and dice are not like those to which we give these names, but are made some of gold and some of silver we call them coins and over them they quarrel and each seeks to get the greater share. It is these last-named men who cause the greatest uproar and disorder I mean those who play at dice—and they appear to be the most disagreeable of the revellers. Sometimes too they fall and come to blows and wound one another. But it is the drunken who are most inclined to act this way

[1] Cf. Discourse 27 [illegible] 22 [illegible], 30 [illegible]

δρῶν· μεθύσκεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ οἴνου, καθάπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ ἑστιάσει τὸ πόμα παρέχειν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὥστε ἐξελέγχεσθαι τὸν ἑκάστου τρόπον. δύο δὲ οἰνοχόους ἑφεστάναι, τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα, τὴν δὲ θήλειαν· ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖν τὸν μὲν Νοῦν, τὴν δὲ Ἀκράτειαν· τοὺς μὲν οὖν φρονίμους τὸν ἄρρενα οἰνοχόον ἔχειν, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου μόνου τούτους δέχεσθαι σπανίως τε καὶ σμικραῖς κυλίξι καὶ πάνυ ἀσφαλῶς
37 κεκραμένον· κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἓνα κρατῆρα, τόν γε τῆς Σωφροσύνης· ἑστάναι γε μὴν[1] πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ διαφέροντας τῇ γεύσει ὥσπερ οἴνων πολλῶν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀργυροῦς τε καὶ χρυσοῦς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ζῷα ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ ἔχειν καὶ ἕλικάς τινας καὶ τορείας. τὸν δὲ τῆς Σωφροσύνης λεῖόν τε εἶναι καὶ οὐ μέγαν καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰκάσαι τις ἀρῶν χαλκοῦν. δεῖν[2] οὖν ἐκεῖθεν πολλακλάσιον λαμβάνοντας καὶ ξυγκεραννύντας σμικρόν τι τῆς
38 ἡδονῆς πίνειν. οἷς μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὁ Νοῦς οἰνοχόος, οὕτως οἰνοχοεῖν, φοβούμενον καὶ προσέχοντα μή πῃ τῆς κράσεως ἁμαρτὼν σφήλῃ τον δαιτυμόνα καὶ καταβάλῃ· τὴν δὲ Ἀκράτειαν τοῖς μὲν πλείστοις ἄκρατον τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐγχεῖν, μηδὲ μικρὸν σωφροσύνης παραμιγνύουσαν, τοῖς δὲ ὀλίγον τι παντελῶς λόγου ἕνεκεν· τοῦτο δὲ αὐθὶς ἐξιτήλον γίγνεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ φαίνεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ

[1] γε μὴν Cobosa: γὰρ. [2] δεῖν Emperius: δεῖ.

[illegible] wine that makes them drunk, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

πίνοντας μὴ διαλείπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστέρχειν τε αὐτῷ καὶ πελάειν θαττον ἴσως παρ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ προαρπάζειν ἕκαστον· τῷ δὲ ἐπειγόσθαι καὶ περιτρέχειν ἀσθμαίνουσαν καὶ ῥεομένην ὁρῶντες μὲν οὖν ἐκείνης ἑστιάτορας ὑρχεῖσθαί τε καὶ κυλίεσθαι προπίπτοντας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ μαχεσθαι καὶ βοᾶν οἷα δὴ ποιοῦσιν οἱ μεθυόμενοι ὑπὸ οἴνου· πλὴν οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ ὀλίγου καὶ μετρίως μικρὸν γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ κατιδιρθεῖν, ἔπειτα ἄμεινον ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσιν, ἅτε ἐλαφρὰς[1] οὔσης τῆς μέθης· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καρωθέντες ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ ἰσχυροτέρου πόματος κατεχόμενοι δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου ταῦτα ποιοῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ζῶσιν εἰ μή γε ἀποθανοῦσιν[2]· οὗτος γὰρ ὕπνος ἐστὶ τῶν οὕτως μεθυσκομένων καὶ μόνος αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖ· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐξεμοῦσιν ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς γιγνόμενοι δὲ μετὰ σπαραγμοῦ τε καὶ λύπης τῆς ἐσχάτης τὸ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐθέλειν ἐξεμεῖν· ὅστις δ' ἂν ἰσχύσῃ, ποιφίζεται καὶ ῥᾴον διαγει τὸ λοιπόν· ὅπερ δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνει τὸ ἐθέλειν ἐξεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον πίνειν ἐθέλουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ παύονται τοῦ δίψους ἀλλ' εἰς σφοδρότερον ἔχουσι, καθάπερ οἱ τῷ οἴνῳ ἀκράτῳ χρώμενοι.

41 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι εἰσι καὶ καταισχύνουσι καὶ ὑβρίζουσι τὴν χάριν τῶν θεῶν· οἱ δὲ μέτριοι τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς τῇ μὲν ἡδονῇ ὥρας χρῶνται καὶ δι' χρόνου φοιτῶντες· ὥσπερ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐλεύθερος κλίνοιτο ὑπό τινος[3] τῶν κρείττονων, βασιλέως ἢ δυνάστου, τοῦ μὲν ἔσθιειν καὶ πίνειν ἅμαλα, πλὴν ὅσον ἀναγκαῖον, προσέχει δὲ τοῖς

[1] Ὀλιγόρρ. Dindorf ὀλιγόρρ. Γ' ὀλιγόρρ. MM
[2] ἀνοιστοῦσιν Καμαρίνο ἀνοιστοῦσιν M, ἀνοιστοῦσιν LB.

the drinkers do not take intervals of rest but hurry her on and bid her come faster to them and each one of them grabs first at what she brings But she hurries and runs about pouring and dripping with sweat Some of her guests dance and some falling prostrate in the sight of all, and fight and shout, just as men do who are drunken with wine However these do so only for a little while and moderately for they are content to sleep a little while and after that they feel better than ever since their intoxication was slight But those who have become stupefied by pleasure, being affected by a strange poison, act this way all through life and it is impossible for them to get free while they live but only when dead For death is the only sleep for people so treated in this way and it alone helps them Many too vomit from surfeit, and it is accompanied by retching and the severest pain this casting out of the pleasure But whoever persists is relieved and gets on better for the future Yet it rarely happens that a person wishes to vomit, much rather do they wish to keep on drinking For their thirst does not cease but ever becomes more intense, just as with people who use untempered wine

' Such, then, is the character of these people, and they disgrace and insult the bounty of the gods, whereas the temperate and reasonable enjoy pleasure in moderation and at intervals, owing to their fear, and just as a gentleman who has been invited by some superior such as a king or a prince, neglects the food and drink except in so far as he cannot avoid eating and drinking, and pays attention

* *νοῦν* Dindorf, *νοῦν*.

ἔδον καὶ τούτους τέρπεται· κἀκεῖνοι μέθης μὲν καὶ πεττῶν καὶ ἀστραγάλων ἀμελοῦσιν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τάνδον ὅπως ἔχει, καὶ τον τε ἀνδρῶνα ἐν ᾧ κατάκειται θαυμάζουσί τε καὶ ζητοῦσιν ὅπως γέγονε, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὥσπερ γράφας τινὰς εὐειδεῖς καὶ καλὰς καταιτοῦσι, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκονομίαν[1] τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ τὰς Ὥρας, ὡς εὖ τε καὶ ἐπιστημόνως ἅπαντα πράττουσι, καὶ προσέχουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μόνοι δὴ τοῦ κάλλους αἰσθάνονται· μέλει δ' αὐτοῖς ὅπως μὴ δοκοῦσιν ὡς τυφλοί τε καὶ κωφοὶ μετειληφέναι τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλάττοντες ἔχωσί τι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν, εἴ τις πυνθάνοιτο, ἃ τε εἶδον ἃ τε ἔγνωσαν· καὶ ταῦτα φροντίζοντες καὶ μετὰ νοῦ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐμμελῶς μετέχοντες διαγοῦσιν, εἷς ἑν διαλεγόμενοι καὶ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ὅμοιοι· ἐνιότε δὲ μεγάλης κραυγῆς γενομένης καὶ θορύβου παρὰ τῶν μεθόντων κἀκεῖσε ἀπέβλεψαν, ἔπειτα εὐθὺς πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς ἐγένοντο.

43 Καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀπιέναι δέῃ, οἱ μὲν ἄσωτοι καὶ ἀκρατεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων ἕλκονται καὶ σύρονται μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ κοπιμάτων κεκραγότες καὶ οἰμωζόντες, οὐδὲν εἰδότες οὔτε ὅποι παρῆλθον οὔτε ὅπως εἰστιάθησαν, κἂν πάνυ πολὺν τις αὐτῶν μείνῃ χρόνον· οἱ δὲ ὀρθοί τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ποσὶν ἀπίασι, προσαγορεύσαντες τοὺς φίλους, φαιδροί τε καὶ γεγηθότες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀσχη-
44 μονήσαντες· ταῦτα οὐ ὁ θεὸς ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ

[1] οἰκονομίαν Reiske: εἰκόνων

[1] Cf. § 31. [2] Cf. Discourse 13 31.
[3] Cf. § 34.

to what is in the palace and enjoys this so the reasonable being not the drinking and drunkenness and dice and [illegible] at the statues of the kings which adorn the banqueting hall in which they are reclining try to learn how it was made and do so every [illegible] that is not just as they would have it and [illegible] passages and they notice the management also and to order the warm and the [illegible] dancing how [illegible] and [illegible] they do everything they observe [illegible] these things and [illegible] perceive their beauty. They are [illegible] to answer to [illegible] all [illegible] persons [illegible] blind and deaf [illegible] have [illegible] about it when they [illegible] about what they saw and observed. And throughout the banquet they [illegible] to [illegible] these things and to [illegible] the [illegible] and musicians, while they [illegible] man to man or in [illegible] groups of two or three. Sometimes however when a great noise and disturbance is caused by those who are drunk they look in their direction and then straightway again give attention to their own concerns.

And when they have to depart the drunkards and intemperate are poured and dragged away by their slave attendants with drunkenness and sleep of sickness clinging and groaning the while and having no knowledge whatever where they have been or how they have feasted, even if one or another of them remains a very long time. But the others depart sober and standing securely upon their own feet after looking forward to their friends joyous and happy because they have done nothing unseemly. And, therefore, musing upon these things

πάντας[1] ὁρῶν, ὡς ἐν ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ, ὅπως ἕκαστος εἰστιᾶτο, τοὺς βελτίστους ἀεὶ παρ' αὑτὸν καλεῖ, κἂν τῷ σφόδρα ἀρέσθαι τυχῇ, μένειν αὐτοῦ κελεύει καὶ συμπότην καὶ ἑταῖρον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοῦ νέκταρος ἤδη οὗτος εἰκαχεῖται· τοῦτο δὲ ἕνεκα μὲν τῷ τῆς σωφροσύνης πάθει, διαυγέστερον δὲ ἐστιν ἐκείνου πολὺ καὶ καθαρώτερον, ὡς ὤν, οἶμαι, θείας ὢν καὶ ἀληθοῦς σωφροσύνης."

48 Δ. Παπαῖ, ὦ Χαρίδημε, οἷος ὢν ἡμῖν τέθνηκας, ὡς πολὺ τῶν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερεῖχες ἐμέλλας, οἷαν δὲ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἐπιδείξειν σαυτοῦ παρεσχες, μὰ Δί' οὐ λέγων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλης καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἀνδρείας· ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔχω ὅπως παραμυθήσωμαι ὑμᾶς τοιούτου στερηθέντας· μὴ βαρεῖν φέρειν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμοιγε οἷος τέ εἰμι ἱκανῶς παραμυθήσασθαι ἐν τῷ
49 παρόντι· σὺ δέ, ὦ Τιμάρχε, μόνος δυνάσαι τὸν πατέρα τουτονὶ κουφίζειν καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ἐὰν μέλῃ σοι μὴ πολὺ ἐκείνου καταδεεστέρῳ φαίνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, εἰ τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἤδη παρειλήφας τοσαύτην οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ αὖθις λήψῃ τοῖδε ἀποθανόντος, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην καὶ τὸ θάρρος καὶ τὸ τῶν καλλίστων ἐρασθῆναι ἀφήσεις, ὡς κατά γε ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐκείνῳ προσήκων.

[1] πάντας Arnim; πάντα.

and observing all the banqueters as if he were in his own house. In each person he comported himself at the banquet even as the host to himself, and if he appeared to be especially pleased with any one he bids him remain there and tarry, he been companion[1] and [illegible] this man regards himself with [illegible] He resembles the beverage of [illegible] but is sweeter by far than the other and purer [illegible] as I think, it belongs to divine and true sovereignty.

Dio. Alas! [illegible] what a man has been lost to us [illegible] death. How far it would have [illegible] of your generation, and what a splendid revelation of your [illegible] you have given to your father and your [illegible] a display not of words [illegible] of great and true [illegible] For my part I know not how to consoling you for his [illegible] such a man by [illegible] not to sorrow too deeply, for I am not able adequate to console even myself for the present. You alone, Timarchus, are able to lighten this father's grief and to bring [illegible] to his maturity, by making your concern [illegible] to be found much [illegible] to the departed. For it would be strange indeed if, while you have already received part of his property, great and was, and will receive the other part in [illegible] when your father here dies, yet you should [illegible] adversity, courage, and a love for all that is most beautiful, as if in these matters you were of no use at all to Charidemus.

1 Cf. Rhetorica, *Rhetorica* 13. "Then you will be not only a [illegible] of the gods [illegible] about them [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

INDEX

Aristotle, 134.15
[illegible] shudders to detail, [illegible] 285.18, weeps for the departed, 295.22
Achilles, at funeral of Patroclus, 128.36, 288.16, had autumn hair, 288.17, did not live to old age, 370.14, 380.20; leaves and [illegible]
Achaia, turned for beauty, 300.16
[illegible]
[illegible] and relations with City [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 121.3
[illegible] 121
[illegible] 121.3
[illegible] 121.43
[illegible] 121.43
[illegible] 121.43
[illegible] 121 [illegible] son of Tydeus, [illegible]
[illegible] (Olympia), 204.4 [illegible] guiding [illegible]
[illegible] 121.16 [illegible] 121.1 [illegible] 121.1
[illegible] 121.9 [illegible] 121.1
[illegible] 121.13
[illegible] 121.13
[illegible] 121.6, [illegible] 121.6.
[illegible] 121.16 [illegible] 121.1
[illegible] 120.20 [illegible] reduced to Spartans by [illegible], 300.16
Archidamus, Macedonian king, arrived [illegible]
[illegible] 120.1
[illegible] 120.1
[illegible] 120.1
Astyages, [illegible] 104.20
Achaia, loved the owl, 3.6
[illegible] 1.2.26 123.26 [illegible] 121.17 290.1, 320.3
[illegible] 121.16
[illegible] Tydeus [illegible]
[illegible] 121.1
[illegible] 104.20
[illegible] 121.17 [illegible] 121.1
Aristotle, [illegible] 120.1
[illegible] 120.1
[illegible] 120.1
[

INDEX

Centaur, [illegible]
[illegible] wife of, [illegible]
[illegible]
Cleopatra, [illegible] son of Tigranes, [illegible], 434.48
Cherisiphon, 340.2
[illegible] of Artaxerxes, [illegible]
[illegible]
Cecrops, guiding spirit of Athens, 274.4
Clytemnestra, Agamemnon's wife, Aegisthus' mistress, 148.4
[illegible] magnificent of [illegible]
[illegible]
Cnidus, later Greek center, 112.20, 395.12
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Thirty, 274.3
[illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible]
Crotona, [illegible]
Ctesias, father of Xenarcus, 146.14
[illegible]
[illegible] vessel of Ar[illegible] [illegible] 4 [illegible] 324.3
[illegible]
[illegible] by Athens, 430.34
Cyzicus, [illegible]

Dardanus, partaking the gods, 10.46
[illegible]
[illegible] eternal [illegible] guiding spirit of [illegible]
Daty, [illegible] longest siege [illegible] 34.3
Demetrios, son of Iron [illegible], 222.[illegible]
Demetrios, Iroque [illegible] of, [illegible]
Dionysus, [illegible], 348.3
son of a god, 492.27
Diodorus, [illegible]
Dionysus [illegible] Greeks [illegible]
Darius, [illegible] of, 68.66

Bebetana, [illegible] by Alexander, [illegible]
Bagoas, city of [illegible] to, 108.17
[illegible] by [illegible]
Barsaeus, surgeon of Darius, 196.8

Elatea, [illegible] of 36.31, 38.32, 68.34; [illegible] 80.38
[illegible] quarter, 32.3
[illegible]
[illegible] dies not live to old age, [illegible]
Epicurus, [illegible] 222.10
Eris, described by Homer [illegible]
[illegible] 31.8
[illegible] 156.11
[illegible]
Euripides, [illegible] poet, 194.[illegible], [illegible] 191.3 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] through a ring, [illegible]
Euryptolus, 208.17

Ganymede, 306.17
Gedar, the land of, 20.14
[illegible]
[illegible], acquired himself, 18.16
Greeks (see also [illegible] of old appreciated Philosophy [illegible] 30.27 34.33 44.4 [illegible] 62.30 [illegible] 4 [illegible] 90.9 [illegible] 110.38, 134.16 honored Tragedy's heroes 146.16 [illegible]

Hannibal, guiding spirit of Carthage [illegible] 31.8 [illegible] Carthage. [illegible] 137.7
[illegible] of [illegible] 3.7
[illegible] his beauty amazed [illegible] 44.16 did not reach [illegible] 4
[illegible] by Paris 198.14
[illegible] 306.33
[illegible] 4 [illegible]
[illegible] of 44.47 and united [illegible] 63 [illegible] 74 [illegible] 88.10 [illegible] 22 180.8 206.14 [illegible] 23 [illegible]
[illegible] (see also Greeks), 64.48
[illegible] of gods by [illegible] 74.73 84.84
[illegible] 48.16
[illegible], world criticism, 80.38; 84.84

INDEX

Homer, calls Ilotae Mysians, 20.16 [illegible] 18, describes soils, 64.93, 82.79 compares Agamemnon to Zeus, [illegible]

[illegible] 329.11

[illegible] 260.10

[illegible]

Horse [illegible]

Italy, 398 *

Ithaca, salient feature, 26.26, [illegible]

Ilys, mourned by [illegible]

[illegible] mare, 188.10 384.4

[illegible]

Tyrtaeus, ruled by Orosius, [illegible]

[illegible]

price, 106.91

[illegible]

INDEX

[illegible], passing spirit of Athenians, [illegible]
[illegible] Polycrates's lamp, 13.10
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible], [illegible] speech of [illegible], [illegible] a house unknown to [illegible], [illegible]
Nymphs, welcome visitors, 148.3

Odysseus, 92.4, 98.10, 130.21, [illegible], 36.14
Oe'dipus, hero of Tragedies, 106.20
[illegible]
Oly[illegible]
Oly[illegible]
[illegible]
Oly[illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Athenian [illegible] of [illegible] in Aesop's fables, 161.4, [illegible] 13

Palamedes, invented alphabet, 109.21
[illegible]
Pallas, 104.19
Pandion, alleged father of Ceneus, [illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible]
Parnassus, [illegible] by 'Themistocles' [illegible]
[illegible] "ancient" and [illegible] Athenians, 336.3
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible], 64.69, 198.3
[illegible]
Passages, omitted by [illegible], 148.4
Pasiphae, [illegible] by Pasiphae [illegible] Friend of [illegible]
Patroclus, [illegible] 473.21
Pausanias, [illegible] Daedalus, [illegible] of [illegible], 110.21, 140.20, 41.19, 174.3, 3.4.6, [illegible]
Phaeax, fabled for beauty, 306.18
Phaethon, lamented [illegible] 5.6, [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 196.1, 220.3, 330.6
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 221.12
[illegible]
Polycrates, [illegible] by [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible] goals, 88.65
[illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible] Dorus, 151.10, offspring of 154.13

[illegible]
[illegible] 1.6.21, 231.6, [illegible] of [illegible] for [illegible]
[illegible] 1.21 [illegible] by Nestor, [illegible] Mediterranean [illegible] hostility, 331.6

Sacred Band, compared Spartans in [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 176.14
[illegible]
[illegible], 89.1, 116.22, 230.4
[illegible] of the gods, 436.21; [illegible]
[illegible] 19.10
[illegible] by Athenians, 19.26
[illegible]
[illegible] were always chosen, [illegible] were considered sacred [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible], adapted for horse racing, [illegible]
[illegible]
Sacrifice, indispensable for contact, 234.13

INDEX

Solon, regarded as philosopher in politics, 202.9
Sousa, 12.10, attacked by Alexander, 320.6
Sparta, founded Cytheri, 420.26
Spartans (see Lacedaemonians), defeated at Tegyra, 198.28; consulted oracle, 200.0, 240.1; accompanied by Lycurgus' command, 326.3

Tegea, Spartans march against it, 208.16
Teiresias, advised Odysseus, 66.16
Telemachus, counted parentage 140.4
Telephus, son of Auge and Heracles, 152.10
Thaletas, serves with Minos for price, 106.9
Thebans, defeated Spartans at Leuctra, 96.28, 206.3
Thebes, 202.7
Themistocles, 202.1, compelled Athenians to fight on sea, to fortify Peiraeus, 208.1
Theopompus, Greek orator, 222.18
Theopompus, second-rank historian, 221.10
Thersites, brave and beautiful, 349.18
Thetis, mother supplicant, 66.02
Thrig, The, tribe, ancestor of 274.3
Thrace, 180.18; sale of Cylinx was slave there, 150.15; 168.17
Thucydides, famous historian, 220.10 222.1
Thyestes, made advances to Aerope, 148.6
Timarchus, father of Charidemus, 400.1
Timarchus, younger son of Timarchus, 424.46
Titans, ancestors of man, 408.10, not ancestors of man, 420.26
Tydius, 288.17
Troy, Helen brought disaster to, 200.23, 280.15
Tyndareus, father of Clytemnestra, 148.6
Tyrtaeus, 332.7

Xenophon, can satisfy all requirements of man in public life, 324.14 326.16, 286.26
Xerxes, cattle with horns of Asia, 110.23, obeyed captain of ship, 198.6, master of Asia, 198.14

Xuthus, son of Zeus, 180.9, 184.13
Zeus, 26.24, 44.49, 58.64, 66.62, 76.76, 84.83, 86.8, impregnated Germa through love, 138.21, 89.0, 164.17, 202.20, 204.22, calls man most miserable living creature, 302.1, 420.26
Zoarin, portrayed gods, 40.43

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